SISIR KUMAR BOSE (1920–2000) founded the Netaji Research Bureau in 1957 and was its guiding spirit. A participant in the Indian freedom struggle, he was imprisoned by the British. After Independence he authored and edited biographies, memoirs, monographs, and research papers on Netaji's life and times.

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It was in 1929 that Jatindranath Das — a young associate of Bhagat Singh — died in Lahore Jail after a hunger strike. Jatin had served in the Congress volunteer corps in 1928 under Subhas who took charge of the funeral rites. In October 1929 Subhas journeyed from Calcutta to Lahore to deliver a message of complete emancipation to the Punjabi students' conference, lauding Jatin's sacrifice.

On his return to Calcutta Bose was arrested and on 23 January 1930, the day he turned thirty-three, he was imprisoned on charges of sedition. From behind bars Bose watched with admiration as Gandhi made his next moves towards civil disobedience.

These are among the many fascinating episodes that comprise this volume, which shows Subhas emerging as a pan-Indian leader in his own right, and as the only real spokesman of the Left.

Cover: Subhas Chandra Bose at 1, Woodburn Park, 1929

SUBHAS CHANDRA BOSE LEADER OF YOUTH

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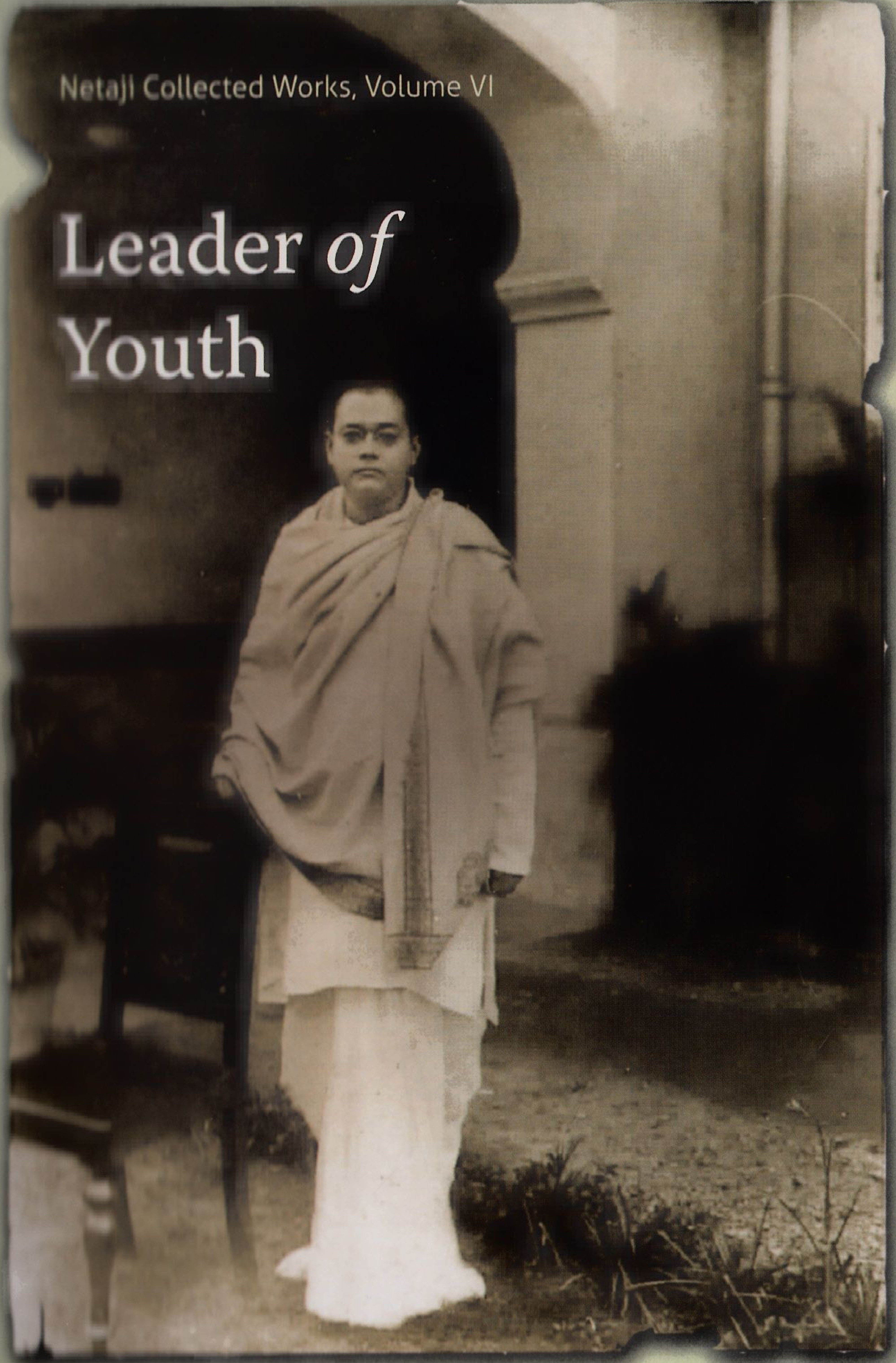
Netaji Collected Works, Volume VI

Leader *of* Youth



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LEADER OF YOUTH

Netaji Collected Works
Volume 6

SUBHAS CHANDRA BOSE

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FOREWORD

The sixth volume of Netaji's Collected Works being released on his ninetieth birth anniversary marks the end of the second important phase of his political career that ended with his departure for Europe in 1933.

Since the fifth volume was published we have sustained an irreparable loss in the death of the seniormost member of the Editorial Advisory Board. Mr. A.C.N. Nambiar whose profound experience and wise counsel will no longer be available to us. The sad but inevitable loss of such veterans and the exigencies of the future call for reconstitution of the Board with men of the younger generation with requisite training and expertise in history. This is being done.

In the third and fourth volumes of the Works we have published a large collection of Netaji's correspondence of the period 1923 to 1932. This included the period of his incarceration in Burma from 1924 to 1927. While these two were in the process of publication, a large volume of new and exceptionally significant material relating to the same period were passed on by the Research Division to the Publishing Department. We found that to accommodate all this new material two additional volumes would be necessary. The fifth volume which was released in the middle of 1985 contained, among other items, a very large collection of hitherto unpublished material drawn from Netaji's prison note-books from Burma. The last purely political item in that volume was the historic speech he delivered at the Calcutta session of the Indian National Congress in December 1928 moving an amendment to the resolution of Mahatma Gandhi on the issue of Dominion Status versus Complete Independence.

The present volume takes us from the beginning of 1929 to the beginning of 1933 when he left for Europe. This was the time when he appeared on the national scene as a leader in his own right and as the only effective spokesman of the emerging Left. In the interest of the reader who has to assimilate the very important series of political utterances he made during the period and published in this volume, let us briefly trace the political developments on the national scene and the part played by Netaji since the beginning of 1929 till he left for Europe in 1933.

The defeat of Netaji's amendment to Mahatmaji's resolution at the Calcutta Congress killed precious time for the development of the national movement. Nevertheless, there was a silver lining in that the substantial support that Netaji was able to mobilise for his resolution indicated that the emerging left wing was gaining strength in the Congress and the country. The opening months of 1929 saw an outburst of revolutionary activity in North India climaxed by the Bhagat Singh episode and self-immolation of Jatin Das. Throughout that year Subhas Chandra Bose presided over a series of student and youth conferences in Bengal and elsewhere. To the youth and students he preached patriotism, integrity, sacrifice, courage and unswerving adherence to the national goal of complete independence. The year also saw increased unrest among the working class. The Meerut Conspiracy Case opened in 1929. The ferment among the nationalist intelligentsia, students, youths and working classes encouraged Netaji to demand a bigger political campaign against the British. In the Bengal Congress he established his ascendancy over the more moderate and right wing forces. Netaji's adherents demonstrated remarkable resourcefulness when faced with the sudden closure of their party organ 'Forward'. They were able to bring out its alternative 'Liberty' almost overnight. The All Parties Conference held towards the end of the year in response to the British Viceroy's announcement of a Round Table Conference based on the report of the Simon Commission revealed an interesting alignment among nationalist ranks. While most Congress leaders including Jawaharlal Nehru offered cooperation to the British in their mainfesto and were prepared to negotiate on the basis of Dominion Status, Subhas Chandra Bose, Saifuddin Kitchlu and Abdul Bari issued a separate manifesto opposing Dominion Status and a Round Table Conference on British terms.

The Lahore Congress saw the fulfilment of Subhas Chandra Bose's dream of an unequivocal declaration of the national goal as complete independence. But what Netaji demanded at Lahore was a complete programme of action based on the organisation of the peasantry, working classes and the youth in one solid phalanx to enforce the national demand. According to him the national struggle could not be a halfway house. It had to be a "total boycott" of British rule and administration leading to a parallel government. It is of historical interest to record that Congress always lacked a positive and revolutionary programme of action to be carried out by a fighting coalition of militant sections of the Indian people apart from passive mass demonstrations and symbolic violation of the law. This was never so well demonstrated as during the final struggle launched by Gandhiji in 1942 when the people of India were left entirely to their own resources to face the organised onslaught of British imperialism. Netaji was also of the opinion that the social programme of the Congress should be in hands of Congressmen and not in charge of other organisations not directly under the control of the party.

Subhas Chandra Bose was placed under arrest soon after his return to Calcutta from the Lahore Congress and sentenced to an year's imprisonment.

When Mahatmaji launched his Dandi March in 1930 Netaji was in jail and he followed the development of the national resistance movement from behind prison walls with great interest. Governmental terror led to outbursts of revolutionary terrorism in the country particularly in Bengal. The Chittagong Armoury Raid took place in April 1930 and a see-saw battle raged between the nationalist and government forces on all fronts for months. The British Government released the report of the Simon Commission in June 1930. It was rejected out of hand by all parties and that heightened the morale of the people. Subhas Chandra Bose was elected Mayor of Calcutta while in prison. He could assume office only on his release later in the year and his Mayoral address finds its rightful place in this volume. At the end of the year the first

Round Table Conference was held in London without the participation of the Indian National Congress. It was a futile exercise and all that it offered to the Indian people were 'safeguards' and 'federation' of the British conception which Netaji and others rightfully denounced.

For Netaji 1931 opened with a head-on clash with the ruling power. While leading a procession as Mayor of Calcutta on Independence Day, 26 January 1931, he and his comrades were brutally attacked by British mounted police and taken into custody. While he was languishing in prison came the Gandhi-Irwin Pact of March 1931. The terms of the Pact were a great disappointment to him. Even so. he chose not to divide the party. On his release he hurried to Bombay to meet the Mahatma, then travelled with him to Delhi and held prolonged discussions with him. The Karachi Congress was held under the shadow of a great tragedy—the execution of Bhagat Singh and his comrades in total disregard of public opinion in India. Netaji welcomed the Karachi resolution of Fundamental Rights which gave some content to the socio-economic objectives of the party. It is significant that despite the fact of Jawaharlal Nehru being chosen President for the Lahore session at Gandhiji's instance, Subhas Chandra Bose and others like him with leftist leanings were excluded from the Congress Working Committee both at Lahore and Karachi.

At the same time as the Karachi Congress Netaji was called upon to preside over the Naujawan Bharat Sabha, a militant youth organisation founded by Bhagat Singh. Netaji was clearly more at home in such company and was able to spell out his radical socio-economic views and ideas of national reconstruction in a forthright manner. He did not hesitate to offer an alternative programme on socialist lines to that of the Congress which he thought was based on adjustments and compromises with vested interests and not on radicalism. He also underlined the historic and creative role that India had to play in fashioning a new world order by destroying imperialism throughout the world.

When the Congress Working Committee selected

Mahatma Gandhi as the sole representative of the Congress to the Second Round Table Conference, Netaji was clearly of the opinion that this was a tactical error. Even so, Subhas Chandra Bose sent the following generous and nobly worded telegraphic message to Mahatma Gandhi on the eve of his departure for England : "Our hearts with you wherever you go awakened India will follow you with expectant eyes confident that the Nations honour will be safe in your keeping we shall fight again if need be but not accept less than our birthright."

As anticipated by Netaji, at the conference itself the British Government set up an array of non-descripts, self-appointed leaders and sectarian elements against Gandhiji and sought to turn the tables on him by bringing into focus the problem of minorities and that of the future federal structure of India, thus conveniently sidetracking the main issue of national independence. It was Netaji's view that Gandhiji's London visit was badly planned from all points of view. And at the end of it all Mahatmaji's disillusionment was complete. Further, Netaji regretted that no attempt was made to put Gandhiji in touch with people and circles who counted in European politics outside England.

In May 1931 Netaji presided over the Naujawan Bharat Sabha conference in Uttar Pradesh and in July the Calcutta session of the All India Trade Union Congress. The Bengal Political Conference held in December upheld the leftist view under Netaji's inspiration that civil disobedience should be revived. When Gandhiji wrote to the new Viceroy Willingdon upon his return from England, he only got a negative and unfriendly reply. The stage was thus set for the resumption of the second civil disobedience movement.

During the first civil disobedience movement the British Government was taken by surprise by Gandhiji's novel method of resistance. But by 1932 they had perfected their machinery to deal effectively with civil disobedience. And they went on the offensive. They had replaced Irwin by the notorious Lord Willingdon as Viceroy who unleashed a veritable reign of terror throughout the country. No time was lost in rounding up all the leaders namely, Mahatma

Gandhi, Netaji Bose, Pandit Jawaharlal and others.

In Jaunary 1932 Subhas Chandra Bose was first lodged in a small jail in an obscure place called Seoni in Central Provinces. He was soon joined there by his elder brother Sarat Chandra, a leading lawyer, frontrank Congressman and Alderman of Calcutta Corporation. Ever since childhood Netaji held a special position in the affections of his brother and his wife Bivabati. Netaji's correspondence with his brother are very important source material on his life and therefore whatever is available is being published in the Collected Works. The comradeship of the brothers in ideology, service and suffering is also a unique phenomenon in the history of our times.

The Bose brothers watched the march of events in 1932 from behind the prison bars. After the announcement of the so-called Communal Award by the British Government in August 1932, Mahatma Gandhi went on a fast in vindication of his stand on the question of communal electorates. A conference of Hindu leaders assembled in Bombay and eventually an agreement was reached doing away with separate electorates. The Poona Pact enabled the Mahatma to break his fast. Regardless of the fact that the question of communal electorates was a very important question Netaji was bewildered that the great and over-riding question of Indian independence should be side-tracked and drowned by the emotional upsurge over Gandhiji's fast. He was of the opinion that even though the British Government had but to accept the Poona Pact, they had definitely got the better of the Congress by successfully side-tracking the main issue of national independence. Civil disobedience and mass satyagraha gave way to anti-untouchability campaigns and debates on temple entry bills. The anti-climax could not but cause resentment to Subhas Chandra Bose and the radical elements.

As the health of the Bose brothers steadily deteriorated, they were shifted to Jabalpur Central Jail. From there Netaji was shifted from place to place ostensibly for medical diagnosis and treatment—first to Madras, then to Bhowali and finally to Lucknow. But his condition continued to worsen. In the enforced absence of Sarat Bose, Bivabati carried on negotiations on Subhas' behalf with the government in Delhi. She found the attitude of the powers that be extremely unfriendly. Eventually they agreed to allow Netaji to proceed to Europe for treatment and cure and would on no account release him on the soil of India. Before his departure he was brought back for a while to Jabalpur jail where his brother was held. In the middle of February 1933 Subhas Chandra Bose sailed for Europe on board the Italian ship S.S. Gange on another enforced exile which was destined to herald a new chapter in his political career. We have concluded the volume with the moving message he sent to fellow Bengalees from the high seas.

Material relating to his sojourn in Europe beginning in March 1933 are now being organised and edited and will constitute the seventh volume of the Collected Works.

Readers will please appreciate that Netaji Research Bureau is carrying this project forward against heavy odds. Establishment and production costs of a publication of this standard and quality have at least trebled since the original estimates were drawn eight years ago and submitted to Government. There is nothing to indicate that this is recognised where it should be. Press work has been agonisingly slow due to circumstances beyond our control.

Beginning with the seventh volume we shall be dealing with the new incarnation of Subhas Chandra Bose with direct international involvement. It is therefore necessary and proper that we seek the assistance and guidance of scholars outside India who have carried out in-depth studies of him in Europe as well as in Asia. In processing this volume we are thankful to Mr. Srihari Gangooly for carefully looking over the proofs and drawing up the index, to Mr. Kartic Chakrabarty for preparing the manuscript and to Mr. Naga Sundaram for his unfailing support in digging out archival material. Jai Hind.

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Sisir K. Bose
Sugata Bose

Introduction to the Paperback Edition

SUGATA BOSE

During 1929 Subhas Chandra Bose preached the ideal of all-round freedom for the individual and the nation to enthusiastic audiences of students and youth. Speaking to the Hooghly district students' conference in July 1929, he argued that both individual and national fulfilment should be achieved through the innate diversity of human life and by striking a balance between "the one" and "the many". He reminded the students that Deshbandhu C.R. Das had been a staunch believer in a "federation of cultures" and "in the realm of politics, he liked a federal state for India better than a centralized state." He exhorted the young to call the disadvantaged and downtrodden social groups to their side: "In our country three large communities are lying absolutely dormant; these are the women, the so-called depressed classes and the labouring masses. Let us go to them and say: 'You also are human beings and shall obtain the fullest rights of men. So arise, awake, shed your attitude of inactivity and snatch your legitimate rights.'"

This volume brings to readers the radical, yet thoughtful, voice of Subhas Chandra Bose as he spoke to audiences of students and youth across the country during the months that he was out of prison between 1929 and February 1933.

It was in 1929 that Jatindranath Das—a young associate of Bhagat Singh—died in Lahore Jail after a two-month-long hunger strike. Huge crowds came to pay their last respects at railway stations as his body was taken from Lahore to Calcutta. Jatin Das had served in the Congress volunteer corps in 1928 under Subhas Chandra Bose, who took charge of the funeral rites. After the rites were completed, Subhas returned home with a small packet and stood sombre-faced like a marble statue on the marble stairs of 1, Woodburn Park. "I have brought a little bit of the remains of Jatindranath Das," he said to his sister-in-law Bivabati, "please preserve them with care."[1]

In October 1929 Subhas made the journey from Calcutta to Lahore and delivered his message of complete emancipation to the Punjabi students' conference. He lauded the sacrifice of Jatin Das in the cause of freedom. "Jatin today is not dead," he insisted. "He lives up in the heavens as a star 'of purest ray serene' to serve as a beacon light to posterity." Bose saw the students' movement as a school for "the training of the future citizen" and felt that the Congress "should depend, for its strength, influence and power on such movements as the labour movement, youth movement, peasant movement, women's movement, students' movement." And, "To be free or at least to die in the pursuit of freedom" was the motto he gave to the students.

On 31 October 1929, the viceroy, Lord Irwin, announced that he had been authorized by the Labour government in London to state that dominion status was the logical culmination of India's constitutional progress and that a round table conference would be convened after the Simon commission's report was published. A majority of the Congress leaders signed a manifesto in response to this overture, looking forward to the framing of a dominion constitution for India. Jawaharlal Nehru initially hesitated to do so, but eventually fell in line as he had been selected by Gandhi to preside over the Lahore session of the Indian National Congress in December. Subhas Chandra Bose and two others, Saifuddin Kitchlew of Lahore and Abdul Bari of Patna, issued a separate manifesto calling for complete independence and rejecting the round table conference. They saw it as a ploy similar to Lloyd George's constitutional convention for Ireland, which Sinn Fein had rightly spurned.

When the Congress met for its annual session at Lahore, Mahatma Gandhi moved the momentous resolution declaring *purna swaraj* or complete independence based on a severance of the British connection to be the political goal of the Indian National Congress. Subhas Chandra Bose moved a resolution stating that the Congress' aim should be the establishment of a parallel government in the country

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[1] Sisir Kumar Bose, *Bosubari*, p. 40.

with the help of workers, peasants, and youth organizations. His resolution did not pass but it was a sign that he was, as always, a step ahead of his contemporaries. He was satisfied that the Congress had accurately described India as a country that was under an alien army of occupation.

On his return to Calcutta from Lahore Bose was arrested and his birthday present on 23 January 1930, the day he turned thirty-three, was a sentence of a year in prison on charges of sedition and taking part in an unlawful procession. From behind prison bars Bose watched with admiration as Gandhi made his next moves towards civil disobedience. They were "some of the most brilliant achievements of his leadership" and revealed "the height to which his statesmanship" could rise in a crisis.[2]

In Bengal the civil disobedience movement escalated greatly and became intertwined with revolutionary terrorism. On Easter weekend in 1930 revolutionaries led by Surya Kumar Sen raided the armoury in Chittagong in commemoration of the 1916 uprising in Ireland and fought a running battle with British forces in the district for several weeks. Sarat Chandra Bose led the legal defence of several revolutionaries accused in the Chittagong armoury raid case. In December 1930 three young men—Benoy Bose, Badal Gupta, and Dinesh Gupta—stormed the Writers' Building, the seat of the British government in Calcutta, and shot dead the inspector general of prisons. They then engaged Calcutta's police force in combat along the verandahs of the building until their ammunition ran out. Benoy Bose and Badal Gupta succumbed to their injuries, while Dinesh Gupta was tried and executed. In Midnapur district the British district magistrate, James Peddie, who had ordered the police to shoot down peasants refusing to pay taxes, was himself assassinated by revolutionaries. Two of his successors suffered the same fate. A new, more radical, phase of the independence movement had begun.

As emotions ran high, Subhas Chandra Bose was elected mayor of Calcutta while in prison, defeating the incumbent Jatindra Mohan Sengupta. Both belonged to the Congress Party and this was, therefore, something of an internecine conflict. More than just a factional fight within the Bengal Congress, the tension between Bose and Sengupta reflected the complex relationship between the province and the central leadership of the Congress. Sengupta had been appointed to his posts by Gandhi after C.R. Das' death and was generally inclined to obey the dictates of the Congress high command. Bose represented the rebellious tendency in Bengal, not just against the British but the all-India leadership of the Congress as well. During the brief period that he was able to serve as mayor upon his release from prison, Subhas tried to keep alive his mentor's legacy in municipal affairs. On 26 January 1931, as he was leading a peaceful independence day procession, he was brutally attacked by mounted police and hauled away to Calcutta's police headquarters at Lalbazaar. The next day Calcutta's mayor was presented in his blood-soaked clothes at a local court. He was charged with rioting and sent once more to prison. The colonial government recognized the threat to their rule that Bose represented and was determined to stifle him.

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[2] Subhas Chandra Bose, *The Indian Struggle*, p. 190.

Subhas was disappointed by the terms of the Gandhi–Irwin pact of March 1931. Upon his release he rushed to Bombay to meet Gandhi and was satisfied that the leader had not diluted his stand on independence. Subhas continued his talks as he travelled by train with the Mahatma from Bombay to Delhi and saw for himself from the ovation at wayside stations that Gandhi was at the zenith of his popularity. Upon their arrival in Delhi Subhas was shocked to hear that the government had decided to execute the Punjabi revolutionary Bhagat Singh and his comrades.

The annual session of the Congress met at Karachi under the dark shadow of this tragedy. Subhas Chandra Bose found that the twenty-three-year-old revolutionary had upon his death become the symbol of the new awakening among India's youth. The people were not prepared to consider whether he was really guilty of the murder charge brought against him; it was his fearless demeanour as a prisoner and his ability to rise above Punjab's religious conflicts that impressed them. While in Karachi for the Congress meeting, Subhas Chandra Bose was invited to preside over the second annual session of the All India Naujawan Bharat Sabha, a militant youth organization taking inspiration from Bhagat Singh. Bose clearly felt more at home in this radical company than among the Congress stalwarts and enunciated his political philosophy in a forthright manner. He articulated the meanings of five principles—justice, equality, freedom, discipline, and love—which ought to "form the basis of our collective life". Bolshevism, he felt had "many useful lessons for humanity" but he did "not believe that abstract principles could be applied in the same manner, form or degree to different nations and countries." He wanted the Indian variant to be "a new form or type of socialism." And, "While seeking light and inspiration from abroad," he told the radical youth, "we cannot afford to forget that we should not blindly imitate any other people and that we should assimilate what we learn elsewhere with a view to finding out what will suit our national requirements as well as our national genius."

In addition to students and youth, Bose sought to build a constituency for the anti-colonial movement among labour suffering the consequences of a dramatic economic downturn. In late 1929 Bose had been elected president of the All India Trade Union Congress. In his presidential speech delivered to this labour congress in July 1931 he addressed the specific problems of unemployment, retrenchment, and wages in the context of the Great Depression. He also tried to carve out a middle ground between "a reformist programme" of the "Right Wing" of the trade union congress and "Communist friends" who were "adherents and followers of Moscow." He reiterated his belief in "full-blooded socialism" but wanted India to "evolve her own form of socialism as well as her own methods."

Subhas Chandra Bose believed that the Indian National Congress had made a grave tactical error by deciding to send Mahatma Gandhi as its sole representative to the second round table conference in London. As one among a hundred invitees, mostly "non-descripts, flunkeys and self-appointed leaders" in Bose's view, he would find it difficult to keep the focus on national issues with the British keen to highlight myriad sectional interests. Nevertheless, Bose wished Gandhi well and sent him a warm message on his departure for London, expressing confidence that India's honour would be safe in the Mahatma's hands.[3]

On returning empty-handed from Europe, Gandhi and the Congress leadership had little option but to announce the resumption of civil disobedience in January 1932. The Congress organization was declared unlawful and its leaders put under arrest. Subhas was naturally among the Congress leaders to be arrested and he was sent to a rather remote sub-jail in a place called Seoni in the Central Provinces. The only saving grace on this occasion was that he soon had his brother Sarat as his companion in prison. Sarat had suspended his legal practice to join the civil disobedience movement and now paid the price by being put away for four long years in British jails.

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[3] Ibid., pp. 236-7.

In prison Subhas kept himself busy reading Henri Bergson's *Creative Evolution* and other philosophical works. He asked a friend to send him recent biographies of Lenin and Trotsky, the four-volume memoirs of Alexander Herzen, and literature on Thoreau. From late February 1932 he began to experience severe abdominal pain and by mid-May had suffered a weight loss of twenty-eight pounds. As both brothers' health deteriorated—Sarat had early diabetes—they were transferred to Jubbulpore central jail. Subhas was subsequently shifted to the Madras penitentiary, the Bhowali sanatorium, and Lucknow jail in quick succession, keeping him far-removed from Bengal. Stringent bureaucratic instructions were issued by the government to the superintendents of the Bhowali sanatorium, the Balrampur hospital in Lucknow, and the Madras penitentiary regarding the treatment of "state prisoner" Subhas Chandra Bose. These included minute details about the furniture, clothing, and quantity of food that he would be permitted, as well as conditions under which family members could visit him, the scrutiny of letters that he could receive and write, and the newspapers and books he might be allowed to read.[4] With Sarat languishing in jail as well, it fell upon Bivabati to express concerns to the authorities about her brother-in-law's illness in detention. Eventually, the government agreed to allow him to travel at his own expense to Europe for treatment.

There was no question of the British setting Subhas free on Indian soil or allowing him to go to Bengal to see his parents before his departure for Europe. He would not see his father again. The government permitted him some time to be spent together with Sarat in Jubbulpore central jail where the brothers had a visit from Basanti Devi, Bivabati, and her children.[5] On 13 February 1933, Subhas was carried in an ambulance to the port in Bombay and released from

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[4] Home Department File No. 44/8/1/1933-Poll (NAI).

[5] Sisir Kumar Bose, *Bosubari*, pp. 49-51.

detention only after he was put on board the Italian ship *S.S. Gange* sailing for Europe.

As the ship left the shores of India, Subhas wrote a parting message for Bengalis. This volume closes with his words that are as relevant today for India as a whole as they were for Bengal then. After more than a year of exile from Bengal, he was being sent on what would turn out to be more than a three-year exile from India. "One of the dreams that have inspired me and given a purpose to my life," he wrote, "is that of a great and undivided Bengal devoted to the service of India and of humanity—a Bengal that is above all sects and groups and is the home alike of the Muslim, the Hindu, the Christian and the Buddhist. It is this Bengal—the Bengal of my dreams—the Bengal of the future still in embryo—that I worship and strive to serve in my daily life."

CONTENTS

1. **Bengal's Message of Universalism and Socialism** Presidential Address at the Rangpur Political Conference, 30.3.1929 .. 1
2. **Case for a Sympathetic Strike** Statement on Tinplate Workers' Strike Jamshedpur, 6.7.1929 .. 3
3. **Ruinous Labour Policy** Statement on Labour Policy, Jamshedpur, 7.7.1929 .. 4
4. **The Question of Abstention from Legislatures** Statement to the representatives of the Associated Press, 11.7.1929 .. 8
5. **The Individual, the Nation and the Ideal** Speech at the Hooghly District Students' Conference in Chinsurah, 22.7.1929 .. 10
6. Letter to the Editor of 'Liberty', 23.7.1929 .. 14
7. **Nomination as a Congress Candidate** Statement as President, B.P.C.C., 23.7.1929 .. 14
8. **Withdrawal of Protective Duty on Imported Tin Plates** Statement to the Press regarding the strike in Tinplate Works, 3.8.1929 .. 17
9. **Political Sufferers' Day** Statement as President, B.P.C.C. 4.8.1929 .. 18
10. **The True Nature of Freedom** Speech delivered at Rajshahi District Students' Conference, 17.8.1929 .. 19
11. **On the need for Discipline** Speech at Rajshahi Students' Conference 20.8.1929 .. 23
12. **Uncompromising attitude and fight** Statement in support of the workers at the Tinplate Company, Jamshedpur, 28.8.1929 .. 25

13. **The 'Entente Cordial' between political repression and economic Exploitation**
Statement as President, B.P.C.C. in an interview with the "Free Press", 5.9.1929 .. **26**

14. **Government Breach of Faith : On the reason for the hunger-strike by political prisoners in Barisal**
Statement, 24.9.1929 .. **27**

15. **The indispensability of mass organisation and social revolution**
Speech at Howrah District Political Conference, 28.9.1929 .. **29**

16. **More on the Hunger-strike by Satin Sen of Barisal**
Statement as President, B.P.C.C., 4.10.1929 .. **34**

17. Appeal to countrymen regarding the self-sacrifice of Satin Sen of Barisal, 8.10.1929 .. **35**

18. Appeal to Sj. J.M. Sen Gupta, 10.10.1929 .. **36**

19. **The Satin Sen Hunger Strike**
Statement condemning a breach of faith by the Government, 15.10.1929 .. **40**

20. **Punjab and Bengal, Students and Politics**
Speech at the Lahore Session of the Punjabi Students' Conference, 19.10.1929 .. **42**

21. Appeal to the Youth of Punjab, Lahore, 24.10.1929 .. **54**

22. Appeal for help for the Seva Dal, Lahore, 24.10.1929 .. **55**

23. **Appeal to erect a suitable Memorial of Jatindra Nath Das**
Speech at the birthday meeting of Jatindra Nath Das, 28.10.1929 .. **56**

24. **The True Face of Colonialism**
Statement regarding the debate in the House of Lords, 8.11.1929 .. **58**

25. **Withdrawal of resignation from the Working Committee of the A.I.C.C.**
Statement explaining the reasons for withdrawal of resignation from the Working Committee of the A.I.C.C., 22.11.1929 .. **60**

26. **The Role of the youth in our National Life**
Speech as President of the first C.P. Youth Conference, Nagpur, 29.11.1929 .. 61

27. **The Right, the Left and Responsibilities in a Democratic System**
Statement as President, A.I.T.U.C., 6.12.1929 .. 68

28. **My Attitude towards Students and their Movements**
Statement, 11.12.1929 .. 73

29. **The Need for Radical Transformation in Freedom's Cause**
Presidential Address at the C.P. and Berar Students' Conference at Amraoti, 15.12.1929 .. 80

30. **Bengal Congress Election Dispute**
Statement by Pandit Motilal Nehru at Allahabad, 17.12.1929 .. 87

31. Statement by Subhas Chandra Bose .. 88

32. **Campaign against establishment of Union Board**
Statement issued at the B.P.C.C., 20.12.1929 .. 91

33. **The Objective of the Youth Movement**
Speech at Midnapore Youth Conference 21.12.1929 .. 92

34. **Parallel Government and Total Boycott**
Counter Resolution at a Subjects Committee meeting, 31.12.1929 .. 94

35. **Programme of all-round Boycott**
Speech at the Lahore Session of the Congress 31.12.1929 .. 97

36. **Total Boycott**
Statement in an interview, 2.1.1930 .. 100

37. **Unconstitutional Ruling**
Statement in an interview with Free Press 7.1.1930 .. 102

38. **Tyranny of Majority**
Statement as President, B.P.C.C., at Lahore, 8.1.1930 .. 105

39. **Independence Resolution**
Speech at the meeting at Harish Park, Calcutta, 10.1.1930 .. **110**

40. **To Students**
Speech at the Calcutta Engineering College 15.1.1930 .. 112
41. **More about Bandabilla Satyagraha Campaign**
Statement on the Bandabilla Situation, Jessore 17.1.1930 .. 115
42. Letter to Mayor of Calcutta, 23.1.1930 .. 116
43. **Bandabilla Satyagraha and Bengal Congress**
Statement on Bandabilla Satyagraha and Bengal Congress, 23.1.1930 .. 117
44. **All India Trade Union Congress**
Statement (regarding A.I.T.U.C.) 23.1.1930 .. 118
45. **Bengal Volunteers**
Statement (regarding Bengal Volunteers) 23.1.1930 .. 119
46. **Independence Day**
Appeal to the citizens of Calcutta, 24.1.1930 .. 119
47. Prison Diary, Alipore Central Jail, 7-15.2.1930 .. 120
48. The Mayoral Address, 27.9.1930 .. 126
49. **On problems of Calcutta's transport system**
Speech at a meeting of Bengal Bus Syndicate, 19.10.1930 .. 133
50. **In defence of Swadeshi**
Statement as President, B.P.C.C., 25.11.1930 .. 135
51. **Congress programme and the youth**
Speech as Mayor and leader of the Congress Party in the Province, 11.12.1930 .. 137
52. **First links of many a friendship**
Speech at the Scottish Church College, Calcutta, 12.12.1930 .. 139
53. **Tribute to the memory of Maulana Muhammad Ali**
Message as Mayor of Calcutta Corporation to the meeting of the Corporation, 7.1.1931 .. 140
54. **Partial amnesty worse than useless**
Statement as President, B.P.C.C. and Mayor of Calcutta on the Vicerory's decision to

release Mahatma Gandhi and other Congress leaders, 25.1.1931 .. 141
55. **The question of amnesty**
Statement on Mr. Ramsay Macdonald's offer after his release from Alipore Central Jail, 25.1.1931 .. 143
56. **The road to Independence** ..
Statement issued on the eve of his departure to Bombay 15.3.1931 .. 145
57. **Demand for a general amnesty**
Statement on his arrival in Delhi with Mahatmaji, 20.3.1931 .. 145
58. **The Goal and Programme of the Freedom struggle**
Presidential Address at the Karachi Conference of the All India Naujawan Bharat Sabha, 27.3.1931 .. 147
59. **India's historic mission**
Speech at All India Naujawan Bharat Sabha in Karachi, 5.4.1931 .. 149
60. **The task before Bengal Congressmen**
Statement to the Press in New Delhi on the election of B.P.C.C., 11.4.1931 .. 162
61. **Appeal for unity**
Statement, 13.4.1931 .. 163
62. **Settlement of Sylhet Congress dispute**
Statement as President, B.P.C.C. to the press 17.4.1931 .. 165
63. **On the work of S.C. Chatterjee, renowned Indian architect**
Speech as outgoing Mayor, 19.4.1931 .. 167
64. **The dream of my life**
Speech in Ambika Memorial Hall of Faridpur, 20.4.1931 .. 168
65. **Settlement of Faridpur Congress dispute**
Statement on the settlement of the outstanding differences among Congress workers in the district of Faridpur, 23.4.1931 .. 169

66. **The Mymensingh episode and after**
Statement issued to the press in Calcutta, 25.4.1931 .. 170

67. **Election to Kusthia municipality**
Appeal to voters of Kushthia, 10.5.1931 .. 172

68. **Complete Independence and its meaning**
Speech at Noakhali, 15.5.1931 .. 173

69. **Youth and the future of India**
Speech at Noakhali Youth Conference, 17.5.1931 .. 174

70. **North Bengal in distress**
An appeal, 22.5.1931 .. 175

71. **India freed means humanity saved**
Speech at the U.P. Naujawan Bharat Sabha Conference in Muttra, 26.5.1931 .. 176

72. **Appeal to Congressmen all over Bengal**
Statement concerning B.P.C.C. controversy 2.6.1931 .. 187

73. **Irresponsible Charges**
An appeal to countrymen, 11.6.1931 .. 188

74. **Trade Union and the problems of unemployment**
Presidential Address at the All India Trade Union Congress session in Calcutta, 4.7.1931 .. 190

75. **Path adopted for Trade Union Movement**
Statement on the Moscow menace in the Trade Union Congress, 11.7.1931 .. 196

76. **India saved means humanity saved**
Address at Narail, 17.7.1931 .. 200

77. **Truth about Bengal dispute**
Statement to the press, 12.8.1931 .. 205

78. **Boycott of round table conference welcome**
Statement as President of the B.P.C.C., 15.8.1931 .. 206

79. **B.P.C.C. election dispute**
Letter to the Editor of Amrita Bazar Patrika, 18.8.1931 .. 208

80. **Some questions about the surplus of Relief Fund**
Letter to the President, Bengal Congress Flood and Famine Relief Committee, 22.8.1931 .. 209

81. **Authority in running Municipal election in Calcutta**
Statement issued as President of B.P.C.C., 16.9.1931 .. 211

82. **Causes of resignation from the office of President, B.P.C..C, and Alderman of Calcutta Corporation**
Speech to the Congressmen in Bengal, 18.9.1931 .. 212

83. **Condition of detenus in the Hijli camp and at Kharagpur Rly. Hospital**
Statement on the situation at Hijli and Kharagpur, 19.9.1931 .. 216

84. **The individual should merge himself in the nation**
Speech to the Congressmen on Unity, 20.9.1931 .. 217

85. **Serious situation in Jamshedpur**
Statement, 24.9.1931 .. 220

86.. **Interview with the detenus on hunger-strike in Hijli camp not permitted**
Statement 1.10.1931 .. 221

87. **Harassment at Nawapara Police Station**
Statement, 14.10.1931 .. 223

88. **Let Bengal save herself again**
Statement issued to Associated Press, 16.10.1931 .. 226

89. **Grievances and demands of Jamshedpur Workers**
Speech delivered to the workers of the Tata Iron and Steel Co. 17.10.1931 .. 231

90. **Demands on the basis of enquiries at Chittagong and Hijli**
Statement issued to the Press, 23.10.1931 .. 231

91. **Deprived of personal liberty and harassed**
Statement from Chandpur on 10.11.1931 .. 232

92. **Self-respect, manhood and rights of the people trampled**
Message at the time of his arrest, 12.11.1931 .. 237

93. **Hijli and Chittagong outrages must be remedied**
Speech at Harish Park, 26.11.1931 .. 238
94. **Boycott programme**
Statement before leaving Khulna, 17.12.1931 .. 240
95. **Despite truce repression went on**
Text of Presidential address at the Maharashtra Youth Conference, 22.12.1931 .. 241
96. **Congress should adopt a bold policy**
Speech at Maharashtra Youth Conference, 24.12.1931 .. 244
97. **The sole object consists in winning Independence**
Statement issued to the Press before leaving for Calcutta, 3.1.1932 .. 245
98. **My health and other thoughts**
Letter to a friend, 16.4.1932 .. 245
99. **About my physical and mental health**
Letter to one of his friends in Calcutta, 22.4.1932 .. 248
100. **About health and treatment**
Letter to Kaviraj Anath Nath Roy of Calcutta, 4.6.1932 .. 249
101. **X-ray examination for correct diagnosis**
Letter to a friend in Calcutta from Jubbolpore, 10.6.1932 .. 250
102. **Physical condition continued unchanged**
Letter to a friend in Calcutta from Madras Penitentiary, 31.7.1932 .. 251
103. **Lungs trouble detected**
Letter to a friend in Calcutta from Madras Penitentiary, 18.8.1932 .. 252
104. **Praying for recovery of Dr. Alam**
Letter to Begum Alam, 2.11.1932 .. 254
105. **Sick of experimental treatment**
Letter to S. Satyamurti, 19.11.1932 .. 254
106. **Tired of being experimented upon**
Letter to a friend in Madras from Bhowali Sanatorium in U.P., 19.11.1932 .. 256

107. **Treatment continues, no improvement**
Letter to Bimalkanti Ghosh, 22.11.1932 .. 258
108. **Till a bed patient**
Letter to Satyendranath Majumdar, 24.11.1932 .. 260
109. Letter to Bivabati Bose, 26.10.1932 .. 261
110. Parting Message to Bengalees, 2.3.1933 .. 262

Photos

(between pp. 34 and 35)

Leader of Youth: Subhas with Congress volunteers, 1929

Subhas with Congress colleagues, 1929

Bose, Nehru, and Congress workers, 1929

Subhas at 1, Woodburn Park, 1929

Subhas as Mayor of Calcutta, 1931

Subhas reading a newspaper in detention, 1932

Exiled to Europe: Subhas being carried out of an ambulance to the ship at the pier, Bombay, 13 February 1933

BENGAL'S MESSAGE OF UNIVERSALISM AND SOCIALISM

Presidential Address At The Rangpur Political Conference, 30 March 1929

BENGAL has a message of her own to deliver to the world. The message is the sum total of the life and history of Bengal as a whole ; and as she tried in the past to make that message heard, she is doing it even now. That message is ingrained in the character of Bengal. The heart of Bengal is always for diversity, harmony and fraternity. Bengal is always for novelty. Bengal's innate nature is always dynamic and not static. She might well be called 'revolutionary'. From the Vedic age down to the present, history abounds with instances which show that she is always moving and assimilating.

Truth alone is our ideal and that explains why in spite of many inroads on Bengal in culture, civilization, literature and religion, she always assimilated the truth of the newcomers, keeping her individuality intact all the while. As a result of this thorough 'revolution' Vaishnavism has flourished in Bengal. Efforts in this direction are still going on, but to achieve success we must abolish the entire caste system, or convert all castes into one—Sudras or Brahmins. It should now be decided which of these means is to be adopted.

As in religion so in literature, Bengal has manifested herself in diverse ways. Her Vidyapati and Chandidas, Mukundaram and Bharatchandra, Kasiram, Krittibas and Ram Prasad stand as monumental examples of her new discoveries in the domain of thought and culture. Bengal does not forget the contribution made to her literature by the Mussalmans, and it was here that the indissoluble unity between the two communities was formed which has weathered many storms in the past. In a word Bengal as she is today is the child of universalism irrespective of any caste and creed.

But a reaction set in for a time which received a rude shock as Bengal came in contact with Western civilization. True to her characteristics, Bengal woke up to make her contribution in the new movement inaugurated by Raja Ram Mohan Roy. The birth of the Brahmo cult saved Bengal from the attack made on her by the Christian missionaries. The unfinished work of the Raja found an impetus when Ramakrishna Paramhamsa and Swami Vivekananda came into the field towards the end of the 19th century. The renaissance of religion was reflected in her literature, philosophy and in all spheres of life, and Hindus and Mussalmans united to preach this gospel of brotherhood.

It was Swami Vivekananda who gave a new turn to the history of Bengal. As he repeatedly said, man-making was his mission in life. In the work of man-making, Swami Vivekananda did not confine his attention to any particular sect but embraced the whole of society. His fiery words—"Let a new India emerge through the workshop and from the huts and bazaars"—are still ringing in every Bengali home.

This socialism did not derive its birth from the books of Karl Marx. It has its origin in the thought and culture of India. The gospel of democracy that was preached by Swami Vivekananda has manifested itself fully in the writings and achievements of Deshbandhu Das, who said that Narayan lives amongst those who till the land, prepare our bread by the sweat of their brow, those who in the midst of grinding poverty have kept the torch of our civilisation, culture and religion burning.

The first step towards nation-building is the creation of true men and the second step is organization. Vivekananda and others tried to make men, while Deshbandhu tried to create political organization and he created an organization that extorted the admiration even of the Britishers.

New ideas of socialism are nowadays travelling to India from the West, and they are revolutionizing the thoughts of many, but the idea of socialism is not a novelty in this country. We regard it as such only because we have lost the thread of our own history. It is not proper to take any school of thought as unmistakable and absolute truth. We must not forget that the Russians, the main disciples of Karl Marx, have not blindly followed his ideas; finding it difficult to apply his theories they have adopted a new economic policy consistent with possession of private property and ownership of business factories. We have therefore to shape society and politics according to our own ideals and according to our needs. This should be the aim of every Indian.

We have now arrived at the third stage of our political struggle. The first stage was the Swadeshi era, the second was the period of revolutionaries and the third is the stage of non-co-operation and socialism. Many might think that our efforts in the fight for Swaraj have gone in vain, but no useful attempt has ever failed. As a result of the last twenty-five years agitation, we have regained our self-respect and self-confidence. The country is gradually being organized and there is no power on earth that can deprive us of our birthright. The problem is only how soon we shall achieve it.

CASE FOR A SYMPATHETIC STRIKE

Statement on Tinplate Workers' Strike, Jamshedpur, 6 July, 1929

"Several friends in Bombay have enquired of me as to why I held the Tata Iron and Steel Co., responsible for not bringing about a settlement of the strike in the Tinplate Company and why I advocate in case of necessity a sympathetic strike in the Tata Iron and Steel Company. My reasons are very clear. As far as my information goes, the Tatas own one-third of the shares of the Tinplate Company, the rest being owned by the Burmah Oil Company. Moreover, Tatas have two directors on the board of the Tinplate Company who can easily make their presence felt there. The Tinplate Company are dependent for their very existence on the Tata Iron and Steel Company and the latter can easily bring sufficient pressure to bear on the former in order to bring about a settlement of the strike. The Tinplate Company have taken land on lease from Tatas. Tatas supply the Tinplate Company with electricity and filtered water. Repairs in the electrical department of the Tinplate Company are done by the Tata Iron and Steel Company.

"Further I am told that during this strike, Tatas have indirectly helped the Tinplate Company with men who formerly served with Tatas. For all these reasons it will not take Tatas two minutes to force the Tinplate Co., to settle the strike and in order to induce Tatas, it may be necessary to declare a sympathetic strike. This is not a difficult proposition in view of the fact that the employees of the Tatas are anything but satisfied. Mr. Manick Homi held out hopes which have not been realised and made promises which have not been redeemed. He roused enthusiasm to a very high pitch, but suddenly dropped his demands when he and his labour federation were recognised. But though Mr. Homi may have identified himself with the management, the men still continue in a state of excitement and still expect to get what Mr. Homi promised them. One will only have to remind the men of their unrealised hopes in order to get their sympathy. A sympathetic strike is our best resort. But however painful it may be the step will have to be taken if Tatas do not do their best in order to settle the Tinplate strike".— "Free Press".

RUINOUS LABOUR POLICY

Statement on Labour Policy, Jamshedpur, 7 July, 1929

I have purposely refrained from making any statement with regard to the position in the Tata Iron and Steel Works, lest I should thereby complicate matters. But as I am now pressed to do so, I think I owe it to myself and to all those interested in the Tata Iron and Steel Works to

explain the position. In order to explain the present position it will be necessary to give a brief history of the events since September 1928, when the strike was ended. It will be clear therefrom that the Company and the management have not followed a consistent policy with regard to Labour. As a result of that the industry has been suffering very badly. When negotiations for a settlement were started in September 1928, I found that the both of the management and the Directors were determined not to have anything to do with Mr. Manick Homi and they urged several grounds to account for that determination. The terms of settlement were quite agreeable to all parties including Mr. Homi with this qualification that Mr. Homi would not finally agree to any settlement until and unless he was recognised by the company along with his newly formed Labour Federation. I did not agree with this attitude of Mr. Homi, firstly, because he was bringing in a personal matter in the settlement of a strike and, secondly, because it was contrary to Trade Union principles to have two Unions in the same place and among the same body of workmen. I implored Mr. Homi not to stand in the way of a settlement over a personal question. I told him that he could easily capture the Labour Association which was recognised by the company and become one of the Office-bearers if he so desired. The company could then no longer refuse to recognise him whereas now they could very well say that he had no locus standi.

Further I assured him of the fullest support of myself and the Labour Association in obtaining recognition for himself if only he would proceed on the right lines. Mr. Homi was still adamant. He tried heart and soul to prevent the acceptance of the terms of settlement arrived at with the General Manager, but the men would not listen to him. He then started a most virulent and malicious campaign against the Labour Association, myself, the community to which I belong and the management. Not only that, the members of the Labour Federation started assaulting the members of the Labour Association in the streets at night and also in broad day light. On one occasion, there was a daylight raid on the Labour Association office, the property of the Association was looted and the staff were assaulted.

We had decided to remain absolutely peaceful inspite of grave provocation and we had no other course but to look on helplessly at the sufferings of the members of our Association. We were in this dangerous plight for a long time and our men had to fight an unscrupulous enemy at the risk of their lives by means of peaceful propaganda. When we were well-nigh successful and the Labour Federation was on the verge of collapse, the company suddenly went of its way to accord recognition to Mr. Homi and his Labour Federation and thereby helped to revive the Labour Federation. By granting recognition to the Federation, the Company acted against Trade Union principles which do not allow more than one Trade Union in the same place and among the same body of men. The company's object, however, was probably to divide and rule.

The recognition was granted at a time when Mr. Homi's Labour Federation was on the verge of collapse. He had made several attempts to declare 'hartal' among the workmen simply in order to show that he controlled labour. But all his attempts had failed ignominously. The day light raid on the Labour Association was the last sport on the part of some of the supporters of the Labour Federation to crush our Labour Association. But though the Labour Association was getting inadequate support from the local Government and the police officials when they were running a great risk, still they had been fighting manfully. I told everybody in January that within a few months everything would be normal at Jamshedpur.

The recognition of Mr. Homi was first granted by the Tinplate Company. They thought that by doing that they would satisfy labour and increase production. Tatas followed suit. But Mr. Homi was bent more on obtaining recognition from the management than on redressing grievances of the workmen. He was making extravagant demands among Tata's workmen in order to down the Labour Association and show that the terms of settlement were not satisfactory to the men. But in the Tinplate Company as soon as he obtained recognition for himself, he

gave the go-by to all reasonable and exceedingly moderate demands of the men and openly joined hands with the management. The result is that today among Tinplate workers Mr.Homi, an ex-President of their Union, has not a shred of influence.

When Tatas granted recognition to Mr. Homi and the Labour Federation they probably thought that he alone could control labour and that recognition of the Labour Federation would lead to an increase in the production. But little did Tatas care to realise that Mr.Homi was out to obtain recognition for himself and he was instigating the workmen only for this purpose by holding out high hopes to them. The company had not sense enough to realise that immediately Mr.Homi became moderate in his demands the men whom he had worked up to a state of excitement would not cool down and they would press for what Mr. Homi had been telling them and would go even to the length of dethroning him as the Tinplate workers did.

I had some responsibility for controlling labour till the end of January 1929 but since then the responsibility has passed into the hands of Mr. Homi who is now hand-in-glove with the management. The production figure will tell us what progress has been made since the settlement of the strike on September 13, 1928. The production in tons of finished steel was 35400 in October 1928, 34700 in November, 32500 in December, 39000 in January, 1929 and 31300 in February, 33000 in March, 31900 in April, 33400 in May and about 31000 in June. Thus it is clear that the production figures for October, 1928 have not been reached during the months of February, March, April, May and June inspite of all the influence of Mr. Homi. On the other hand inspite of all the violent propaganda carried on against us by the Labour Federation and the inadequate support from the local officials, production reached 39000 tons in January inspite of the repeated attempts made by Mr. Homi to declare "hartal". It will help a comparative study if it is remembered that since February the Labour Association had not done anything to hamper the work of Mr. Homi and his federation and the field has been left entirely to him.

I shall shortly issue another statement on the internal condition of the Tata Iron and Steel Company which will be an appeal to the shareholders of the company to save the industry from ruin.

THE QUESTION OF ABSTENTION FROM LEGISLATURES

Statement to the representative of the Associated Press

11 July, 1929

On my return from Jessore I found that some of the Calcutta papers had misreported my speech on the question of abstention from the legislatures.

The proposal before the Jessore Conference was that till the 31st December 1929 there should be no withdrawal from the legislatures. As I was presiding over the deliberations I had no desire to influence the judgement of the delegates by speaking on the question but as the debate proceeded I found that extraneous issues were being brought in and the debate ultimately resolved itself into a discussion on the pros and cons of Council entry. I therefore decided to speak on the subject before putting the matter to the vote in order to clear up the issue.

I said at the very outset that both sides of the House certainly agreed that Swaraj could not come through our activities in the Legislatures alone. There was perfect unanimity of opinion that without work in the country at large no tangible results would be obtained. The issue really was, whether in the present circumstances, withdrawal from legislatures would materially help the achievement of our object. Knowing the composition of the Bengal Legislative Council, I could not venture to say that withdrawal would be of much help to us. There were a few whole-time Congress Workers in the Council but they devoted a comparatively small part of their energy to council work and whether they withdraw from the council or not, they would in any case carry out the Congress

programme outside the Council. The vast majority of the Council members who were not whole-time workers would certainly be able to help materially in the extra Council work if they so desired. But from our experience of the Walk-out in the year 1916, and abstention in 1928, I had very little hope that they would do so.

On the other hand by withdrawing from the legislatures, we would practically hand over to the enemy an important field of activity which we had captured after a long struggle. Our withdrawal would mean the virtual extinction of the opposition in the legislatures at a time when that opposition was greatly needed. Important problems like the formation of Ministry and the Simon Commission, besides other important provincial problems, were still before us. On these major issues we had fought the election and had won. We had received encouragement and inspiration from Pandit Motilal in our election campaign. The ideal and programme adopted by Calcutta Congress was still unchanged and people would have to consider very carefully before they adopted any revolutionary change in the Council programme without waiting for the Lahore Congress.

While saying all this, I also stated that personally I had absolutely no fascination for the legislatures and if the A.I.C.C. declared against abstention from the legislatures I would still be prepared to resign if that would satisfy Mahatma Gandhi and Pandit Nehru. I could say the same thing of the other whole-time workers in the Council also. It is because I had no fascination for the legislatures that I felt that I had considered the matter coolly and was putting the case before the House as impartially as possible. The opinion in the province as a whole, as far as I could judge, was against abstention or resignation before the end of the year. We shall shortly summon a meeting of the Provincial Congress Committee and take the verdict of that body before we proceed to Allahabad.

THE INDIVIDUAL, THE NATION AND THE IDEAL

Speech at the Hooghly District Student's Conference in Chinsurah on Sunday, 22 July 1929

Mr. Chairman of the Reception Committee and students,

You know best why you have called me to this conference of students to-day. But so far as I am concerned, the reason why I have felt the inclination or rather the courage to come to this assembly today, is that I still consider myself a student like yourselves. I study the "Vedas of Life" carefully and am at the present moment engaged in gathering the knowledge that comes to a man through the hard knocks of experience of the real life.

Every single nation or individual has got a special trait or ideal of his own. He shapes his life in accordance with that ideal. It becomes the sole object of life to realize that ideal as fully as possible. And minus that ideal his life becomes absolutely meaningless and unnecessary. Just as in the case of the individual the pursuit of an ideal continues through long years, so also in the case of the nation it works from generation to generation. That is why the wise people say that an ideal is not a lifeless and motionless entity. It has got speed, locomotion and life-giving power.

We may not always succeed in catching a glimpse of the ideal that has been trying to unfold itself in our society for the last one hundred years; but he who is thoughtful and endowed with real insight can certainly detect the general trend of this ideal behind all visible phenomena, like the steady subterranean flow of the river Falgoo. And it is this ideal which constitutes the idea of the age. When a man attains a complete perception of the ideal, he can easily find out his destination and his guide on the way. But because this perception does not always come to us, we pretty often run after mistaken ideals and follow false prophets. Students, if you really want to shape your lives to some purpose, then protect yourself by all means from the influence of false guides and mistaken ideals and make your own settled choice of your own ideal in life.

The ideal that used to enthuse the student community of Bengal, say, fifteen years ago, was the ideal of Swami Vivekananda. Under the hypnotic spell of that glorious ideal, the Bengalee youth went in with grim determination for a life of purity and spiritual powers freed from all taint of selfishness and shabbiness. At the root of the construction of the society and the nation lies the unfoldment of individuality. That is why Swami Vivekananda was never tired of repeating that "man-making" was his mission.

When a new era was ushered in our country before the age of Vivekananda, Raja Ram Mohan Roy was our guide. From the age of Ram Mohan onwards the desire for freedom in India has been manifesting itself through all sorts of movements, and when in the last decade of the nineteenth century and the first of the twentieth, the soul-stirring message of Swami Vivekananda—"Freedom, freedom is the song of the soul,"—burst the locked gates of the Swadeshi's heart and came forth in a flood of irresistible might, the whole country caught it up and nearly went mad.

It was Swami Vivekananda who had on the one hand, boldly asked his fellowmen to shed all sorts of fetters and be 'men' in the truest sense of the term; and, on the other hand, laid the foundation of true nationalism in India by preaching the essential unity of all religions and sects. But the image of freedom, whole and entire that we come across in Vivekananda, had not yet been reflected in the realm of politics in his age. It was in the mouth of Aurobindo that we heard the message of political freedom for the first time. And when Aurobindo wrote in the columns of his "Bandemataram"—"we want complete autonomy free from British control"—the freedom-loving Bengalee youth could feel that he had at last got the man of his heart.

Having thus received the impetus to complete independence, the Bengalee people have been forging ahead, making light of all obstacles and stumbling-blocks on the way. And when we come down to the year 1921, along with the message of non-co-operation we get another thing from the lips of Mahatma Gandhi: "There can be no Swaraj without the masses, and until we can rouse a hunger for freedom amongst them." This potent message became clearer still in the life of Deshbandhu Chittaranjan. In the course of his Lahore Speech, he very clearly declared that the kind of Swaraj that he wanted was not for the few but for all, for the masses in general. The ideal of "Swaraj for the masses" was put up by him before his countrymen at the All India Labour Conference.

We get another message exemplified in the life of Deshbandhu. It is this, the life of man—that of nation as well as of an individual—that is a piece of immutable truth. It is not possible to divide this life into two or more water-tight compartments. When the life of a man quickens into consciousness, we get ample proofs of this new awakening from all sides, and pulsation of a new life are felt all round. The world—and so the life of man—is full of diversity. If we kill this diversity, there will be no fulfilment of life; we shall rather bring ourselves nearer to death or destruction by so doing. That is why the unfoldment of both the individual and the nation has to be achieved through this diversity, through the "many".

The unity which Ramkrishna and Vivekananda established between "the one" and "the many" in the spiritual world, Deshbandhu achieved or at least tried to achieve in the life of the nation and in the political sphere. In one word, he firmly believed in a "federation of cultures", and in the realm of politics, he liked a federal state for India better than a centralized state.

The all-round development and self-fulfilment in which Deshbandhu so firmly believed, is the ideal of the present age. If we want to make this "Sadhana" fruitful, we shall first of all have to visualize an unbroken image of independence in our minds. Unless a man can realize his ideal wholly and completely; he can never hope to come out victorious in the battle of life. That is why it has become so necessary to tell all India, and specially the youth of the country, that in the free India of which we are dreaming, everybody is free—free from all kinds

of shackles, social, political and economic.

Today I have come to tell this one thing to the student community here—that the 'idea' of the age in which you are born is the attainment of complete and all-round freedom. Our people want to live, grow and have their being in a free country and in the midst of a free atmosphere. We need not take fright at the idea of independence. Our claim to independence is nothing but the right to make mistakes. So let us not get upset by a night-mare vision of chaos which may or may not follow the attainment of political salvation by us. Let us have an abiding faith in ourselves and go forward to snatch our birthright from unwilling hands.

In our country three large communities are lying absolutely dormant; these are the women, the so-called depressed classes and the labouring masses. Let us go to them and say: "You also are human beings and shall obtain the fullest rights of men. So arise, awake, shed your attitude of inactivity and snatch your legitimate rights".

You students and youngmen of Bengal, be you all the votaries of complete independence. You are the inheritors of the future India. It is therefore up to you to take upon yourselves the task of reawakening and galvanizing the whole nation. Go out in your thousands into the remote villages and corners of Bengal and preach the life-giving message of equality and freedom to all and sundry. The picture of freedom which I have just held before your eyes must, in its turn, be held by you before the whole country. Go forward in the right spirit and your victory is absolutely certain. Let your 'sadhana' be fruitful in good results—let India be free again—and let your lives be crowned with glory and renown.

"Bandemataram"

LETTER TO THE EDITOR OF 'LIBERTY'

23 July, 1929

To
The Editor,
Liberty

Sir,

In to-day's "Liberty" some questions sent by me as member of the Bengal Legislative Council have been published. From one of these questions an inference has been drawn to the effect that I desire that there should be a separate jail for political prisoners. But no such inference should be drawn from my question. My object in publishing the question was simply to elicit information as to the intention of Government.

Yours etc.
SUBHAS CHANDRA BOSE

Calcutta,
23.7.29

NOMINATION AS A CONGRESS CANDIDATE

Statement as President, B.P.C.C., 23 July, 1929

I have not so far issued any statement justifying the action of the Bengal Provincial Congress Committee in nominating or refusing to nominate a particular individual as a Congress candidate. But so much has been written and said as to why Mr J. L. Banerjee was not given the Congress nomination from Birbhum, that I feel constrained to make a statement on this question even at this late hour.

Mr Banerjee, like a clever tactician, has tried to win public sympathy by making out that he lost the support of the Congress Party because he did not vote with them on all occasions when the Bengal Tenancy Bill was being

considered by the Bengal Legislative Council. This contention is, however, absolutely false. The reasons which induced us to withhold nomination in his case, have absolutely nothing to do with his voting on the Bengal Tenancy Bill.

I should state at the outset, that when Mr Banerjee got the Congress nomination in 1926, he did so with the greatest difficulty because his nomination was strongly opposed by many prominent members of our Party. To those who have not entirely forgotten Mr Banerjee's past record, it would not be a matter of surprise that he was refused Congress nomination this year or that his nomination was opposed in 1926 by many prominent members of our party. His numerous inconsistencies, frequent somersaults, his frequent opposition to Deshbandhu's policy and programme and above all, his record since his release from jail in 1923—have only to be recounted if one has to justify the action of the Provincial Congress Committee. His opposition to the Council entry programme of Deshbandhu at the Special Session of the Congress at Delhi in 1923 and his thundering eloquence at Karachi condemning the Swarajists' policy and programme are yet green in the minds of many. Inspite of his bad record, Mr Banerjee was given a final opportunity in 1926 to turn over a new leaf and utilise his skill as a speaker and a debater for furthering the public cause. That opportunity he has not availed himself of. Members of the Congress Council Party in Bengal know how he has worked and behaved. His speeches have sometimes embarrassed his party; his intrigues with Ministers and Executive Councillors have often compromised them. When the Congress Party withdrew from the Council in 1928 during the visit of the Simon Commission, in obedience to the decision of the Madras Congress, Mr Banerjee attended the Council, though implored by us not to do so and delivered a speech ridiculing the action of the Congress Party. He was on the point of being expelled from the Party but he avoided expulsion by apologising for his conduct. But unfortunately, Mr Banerjee did not mend his ways thereafter.

Outside the Council, Mr Banerjee's activities have not been such as to inspire public confidence. Members of the public living in the moffusil may not be fully conversant with Mr Banerjee's record in this connection; but I can say without the slightest hesitation that Mr Banerjee has been refused nomination solely in the public interest and if one is to judge him by his past record, no reasonable man can recommend his candidature. We feel very strongly that if Mr Banerjee wishes to carry on his intrigues with Ministers and Government agents, it would be much better for him to do so openly and not under the protection of the Congress stamp. Mr Banerjee's activities since the recent election have been in keeping with his past record and further justify our action in refusing his Congress nomination. I have no doubt that those who still have faith in Mr Banerjee and believe that we have done him an injustice by not nominating him, will be disillusioned before long.

As the public are aware, the Bengal Provincial Congress Committee first nominated Sj Abinash Chandra Roy as the Congress candidate for Birbhum. Mr Banerjee and his friends, however, persuaded him to retire, thinking that they could thereby induce the Provincial Congress Committee to nominate Mr. Banerjee. But for reasons stated above, the provincial Congress Committee was of opinion that it would do more harm to the public cause to give the Congress nomination to a pseudo-Congressman like him. It was reported to us that inspite of the refusal of the Bengal Provincial Congress Committee to nominate Mr Banerjee, propaganda was carried on in Birbhum District to the effect that he was the Congress Candidate. To stop this propaganda and to explain the real attitude of the Bengal Provincial Congress Committee, workers were despatched to Birbhum from Calcutta. I would have gone there myself had I not been prevented by more pressing engagements elsewhere. I also authorised them to consult the other candidate in the field and find out if he would turn over a new leaf in his career and become a full-fledged Congressman. As this was not possible, the BPCC had no further interest in the election beyond explaining its attitude to the Birbhum public.

From information which I have been able to gather, I may say that the workers despatched from Calcutta appealed to the Congress workers and the public of Birbhum to refrain from supporting the candidature of Mr. Banerjee as he was not the Congress nominee. As far as I am aware there was no canvassing done on behalf of the other candidate.

Mr Banerjee and his friends have been loud in proclaiming that the Provincial Congress Committee was wrong in not adopting him as the official candidate when requested to do so by the District Congress Committee. Mr Banerjee, of all men, is sufficiently conversant with the congress constitution and rules to know that the sole authority for nominating candidates is the Provincial Congress Committee. The District Congress Committees can but send in their suggestions and it is open to the PCC to adopt them or reject them. In this particular instance the District Congress Committee were entirely at fault in putting pressure on the Congress candidate Sj Abanish Chandra Roy, without the knowledge of the PCC, in order to secure his withdrawal in favour of Mr Banerjee—when it was perfectly clear that the BPCC had after due consideration rejected his candidature. It was also wrong on the part of the District Congress Committee to go out of their way to support Mr Banerjee when they should have adopted an attitude of neutrality.

WITHDRAWAL OF PROTECTIVE DUTY ON IMPORTED TIN PLATES

Statement to the press, regarding the strike in Tinplate Works, 3 August 1929

The situation created by the strike in the Tinplate Company of Golmuri, Jamshedpur, has been before the public for a long time. The virtual owners of this Company are the Burmah Oil Company. Though the Burmah Oil Company are one of the richest capitalist concerns in this country the condition of the workers in the Tinplate Company is far worse than that of the workers in the adjoining concern of Tatas. The demand of the workers of the Tinplate Company are very moderate. In fact they are working for much less than what Tata's employees have been enjoying for years past. But the Tinplate Company appears to be absolutely unbending and they have sternly refused to open negotiations for a settlement. They are probably attempting to break the strike by holding out as long as possible inspite of the heavy losses they have been incurring and they are hoping that by virtue of the untold resources of the Burmah Oil Company they will ultimately win. The Tinplate Company are, however, oblivious to the fact that it is because of the "protection" that has been granted them that they are able to carry on their business in this country. The time has, therefore, come for the representatives of the Indian people in the Assembly to take early steps to remove the protective duty on imported tinplates, if the Tinplate Company continue their present arrogant attitude. There is absolutely no reason why a foreign company, utterly unsympathetic and callous to Indian labour, should enjoy protection at the cost of the Indian people. I, therefore, appeal to members of the Assembly to pass a resolution in the ensuing session asking the Government of India to take early steps to withdraw the protective duty on imported tin plates. I am glad to say that I have already been assured by several friends that they will take up this matter in the ensuing session of the Legislative Assembly.

POLITICAL SUFFERERS' DAY

Statement as President, B.P.C.C., 4 August, 1929

Pandit Motilal Nehru, President, All India Congress Committee, has requested the Provincial Congress Committee to celebrate an All-India Political Sufferers' Day and has suggested that following the U.P. Provincial Congress Committee, the celebration may be held on the 4th August. He has also said that if the 4th August is too early for any Provincial Congress Committee they can fix a later date. I think it would have been better if a later date had been fixed so that all the provinces would have time to organise a celebration. It is certainly not possible for Bengal to celebrate the Political Sufferers' Day on the 4th August and we have therefore fixed Sunday the 11th August for Bengal. In case any Provincial Congress Committees are unable to have the celebration on the 4th August, I would appeal to them to celebrate the Political Sufferers' Day on Sunday, the 11th August.

THE TRUE NATURE OF FREEDOM

Speech delivered at Rajshahi District Students' Conference, 17 August, 1929

I have great pleasure in addressing you, first, because I feel that on our youths alone lie the solution of our problems. And it is the duty of youths and is within their power to determine the problems of the age and find out their solutions. To me, 'youth' is that which indicates a vigorous animation of the soul, secondly, though my own student life is over several years since, I am fully conscious of the hopes and aspirations with which a Bengalee student is imbued, and of the dangers and impediments with which he is frequently overtaken.

In the life of a nation as in that of an individual, there is a law of "Motion and Expansion", which works as long as there is life in it on him. When this law ceases to work, the nation or the individual becomes as good as inert or dead. "Motion and expansion"—these are the two barometers, which would indicate the state in which this nation of ours is at present situated.

Again behind the growth and decline of a nation, an invisible and mysterious principle works. Some nations have totally disappeared from the face of the globe and their traces can be found only on mountain tops or in the pages of history. And there are others who still exist and make their existence felt. What is the cause of it ? Why this divergence ? It is not possible to give a reply to it in a day or month, but the reply must be found out nevertheless. How can we create a new nation, if we fail to solve this riddle. The Western thinkers aver that the nation which can unlock this mystery can only hope to rise —it can rise as many times as it may fall. The fact is when a nation shows sign of decadence a mighty revolutionary shock to its' intellectual outlook is necessary so that it may begin to think anew. The real cause that China, Japan and India have survived the onslaughts of this law of civilization is that there were thought-revolutions towards the end of the Dark-Ages. On the other hand there were cultural fusions with the foreigners which might have greatly contributed to their survival.

Which of them are true and important, if is for you to determine. However complicated the question is, the answer can be easily had, if you have the mind to know it. Life is worth living only if we know or try to know how is it possible for us to create a new nation. This is the real problem before the students' conference.

It may be asked what is the true ideal and 'Sadhana' of man ? What should be the code of conduct in student life which may lead to the attainment of that ideal ? To this, Nietzche's theory of Superman, which he prescribed for the German nation to make it great and an ideal one, might be a pertinent suggestion. Nietzche prescribed a code of conduct as also some changes in the prevailing mode of thought. He believed that Christian morality led men astray from his true ideals and if a new class of men were to be created, Christian morality had to be scorned and cast aside. His theory holds the ground till today. Plato, Socrates, Aristotle, Thomas Moore and our own ancient Rishis tried to find out a way whereby man could be elevated to a higher level of humanity which would be the ideal for all.

Now, what is our ideal ? No foreigner or outsider can suggest it. The answer must come from within, it must come from our own people. We cannot possibly find out our ideal unless our vision is clear. Ideal must be grasped first and then and then only we can determine our duty. Man is the symbol of ideals and when he realises them in his fullness he is fit to be adored. Ideal varies from age to age and it is proportionate to one's breadth of vision and extent of knowledge acquired. Attempts have been and are being made to attain our ideal through various ways. The ideal of Raja Ram Mohan found expression in his religious agitation and the subsequent establishment of the Brahmo Samaj. Keshab Chandra thought that unless the society was made free from superstitious evils, the ideal man is out of the question. Then again, we believe that the true type of man cannot be formed unless we relieve ourselves from the shackles of political bondage and from all the attendant oppressions. And hence the political movement. There is a great truth underlying these movements which conclusively show that men want to be free from political, religious, social and economic bondages. But what is the symbol of freedom, they do not know.

We want freedom, for bondage is the sign of death. Men inured to life in darkness, show disinclination to leave it. Take for instance, our womenfolk. Sometimes it is found that they themselves are their worst enemies.

So long we had been labouring under the impression that only religious or economic or political freedom in itself would serve our purpose. There is partial truth in it. But it is a greater truth that the life of an individual is an absolute truth and for a living man, all round freedom has to be attained. This ideal is very lofty, difficult to cherish and still more diffcult to realise. It is an ideal which involves equal rights for all without any discrimination whatsoever. The students and youths of Bengal will have to aspire after that ideal and therefore all hopes and aspirations of the future centre round them.

Such an ideal on the part of a student no doubt involves a great deal of personal loss or danger—he may be rusticated from his school or college but even then it elevates his manhood. In my own personal life, when I had to face the authorities I felt a tremendous strength within me and it is guiding me still. In the life of an individual, only a solitary chance may come, which may prove to be a turning point in his life and changes its whole course. Duty impelled Kharag Bahadur to a daring act which he knew might entail inevitable death. Fortunately, his life is spared, but the choice lay between death on the one side and full manhood on the other. A thousand books or a hundred conferences or meetings can not effect such a change, such a salvation of the soul.

Think of brutal violence on our women, being perpetrated from day to day. Is there no remedy ? A handful of Englishmen live in this country but "their" women are not molested in any way. You remember the incident on the frontiers a few years back, when an English woman was kidnapped by some tribesmen, Englishmen throughout the world rose up like one man to effect her rescue.

Think of our ideal in its entirety, and try to realise this conception of all-round freedom in practice in your life. Obstacles there are for those who attempt to find full expression of one's life. But what is true must triumph. To my mind truth and freedom are the same. Freedom is the sign of life and if you know it to be true, one day it will be realised.

The nation cannot be freed in the way in which our struggle is being directed. Take for instance, the question of untouchability. We do not allow the so-called depressed classes to enter into the precincts of a temple, as if God belonged to a particular caste, evidently a high one and therefore could not be defiled by the touch of a section of his own created beings.

When a nation or an individual awakes, the awakenment must be perfect and all-round. We want a band of workers who in scorn of all obstacles, however formidable, may set as votaries of the all-embracing ideal. Strength and energy for the "Sadhana" are there but they are not being utilised. There is no sufficient "Motion and Expansion" of our life force. The spirit of adventure, the urge for the lure of the unknown—all these sadly lack in our youths.

ON THE NEED FOR DISCIPLINE

Speech at Rajshahi Students' Conference, 20 August, 1929-

In the history of Bengal this volunteer movement is not a new thing and its idea permeated the minds of youths since the awakening of our new Nationalism, though for a time it was lying dormant, because of Governmental repression on the one hand and varying methods of our own national work on the other. The idea of reorganisation has again come to the fore front. In matters of physical exercise and military training, Bengal is undoubtedly behind hand, but the growing repressions adopted by Government are gradually enabling us to realize the utility of such a movement and organisation.

It is said that the movement will prove a failure since it does provide for practical training in arms. But then, here the fact is overlooked that in military training the Drill Course is allowed by Musketry Course. We have to learn to walk first. We have yet to learn the proper positions of the hands or legs while walking. Look to the people of a free country, see how they stand or walk, or make their behaviour while in procession or standing in queues before the booking window of a Theatre, Cinema or a play ground. We lack these qualities. A proper sense of discipline has to be brought in.

In other countries, the Government itself undertake to impart military training to the people but here in India, obviously, we ourselves have to do it.

During the last Calcutta Congress, by organising the volunteer corps, we were able to show to the world that in this subject country, too, such a thing could be done.

The underlying aim and principle behind such training is that if a batch of boys or girls learn to march together in measured feet, they will also learn and be able to work together. If, say, twenty thousand boys are collected together today, a veritable pandemonium will be let loose there, but if the same boys receive proper training and are collected together again, it will look like a disciplined army.

Justification regarding the huge expenditure on behalf of the volunteer corps in the last Congress, was questioned from various quarters. But then the fact was ignored that like the jag, the uniform of the soldier was a symbol of Nationalism. According to military rules, it is obligatory on the part of an officer to salute one of his superior grade. In personal qualities the later may be inferior to the former, but then the "King's Uniform must be saluted"—the salute, in fact, is not to the person but to the uniform he wears. We want to teach our boys similar respect to the uniform. We want "Esprit de corps".

When we are enrolled in a corps, we show disinclination to obey and salute this or that person imputing to him various shortcomings. But we forget that the salute or obedience is due to the uniform he wears.

Loin cloth cannot bring about such obedience or discipline. That is why, I assert that it is impossible to go back to the days of the bullock cart.

Obstacles there have been against modernisation. China also had that. But what substance she got, was through her volunteer corps. Instances of such solid organisations are numerous in history. Cromwell's "Ironside" was his mainstay—La Fayette had his National guards, Napolean his Imperial guards and Frederick of Germany had Garibaldi's ten thousand, Mussolini's Black shirts, the Russian Red Army, all these are monumental in history. Japan won glorious victory over Russia through her disciplined army ; Kemal broke the trammels of what he believed to be superstitious in Turkey and founded an ideal state through his disciplined and loyal army. If King Amanullah had an equally disciplined and loyal army, Afganistan would not have been thrown into the turmoil of a revolution. No reform, however, trivial can be effected without the help of a disciplined body of men. If we master the art of working in an organised way, we shall be able to apply the same in every walk of life.

There is nothing to be afraid of. India itself is a larger prison and outside the jail we are not better placed than inside. Let us be inspired with new ideas and thoughts. If you are once obsessed with them, no power on earth can destroy them. The more they are resisted, the more they will grow, as in the cases of Socrates and Christ.

UNCOMPROMISING ATTITUDE AND FIGHT

Statement in support of the workers at the Tinplate Company, Jamshedpur, 28 August, 1929

The situation at the Tinplate Company has reached a deadlock. There is a general strike now commencing from Friday last. Both the new and old hands are out. For keeping up appearances the machinery is kept running but there is hardly any production. The Management appear to be unbending. But while they refuse to deal with the Union, they are doing all they can to cajole and tempt individual workmen. The big officers of the Company including the General Manager do not even hesitate to go from door to door in order to humour the workmen.

The demands of the workmen are so moderate and the attitude of the local management so unreasonable and uncompromising that we, who have espoused the cause of the workers, have no alternative but to fight to a finish. For this purpose we intend to have the support of the local Legislative Council and the Legislative Assembly. The Tinplate Company are holding out a threat that if protection is withdrawn they may close down for good and the Burmah Oil Company will then import tinplate from abroad. If the threat is carried out the present fight will then develop into a fight between the Burmah Oil Company and ourselves. In pursuance of that fight we shall approach every factory in India owned by the Burmah Oil Company and shall create a situation such as we have created at Budge-Budge. Steps have been taken in that connection. The unbending attitude of the local management has converted an issue into an all-India question. We, who are not Tinplate workers but are helping them, have been dragged into this fight by the workers themselves. We waited for several months before we intervened but when we found that the poor workers were engaged in a fight against heavy odds and the management were too obstinate, we had to step in. Once we have intervened, we have to fight till the bitter end.

THE 'ENTENTE CORDIAL' BETWEEN POLITICAL REPRESSION AND ECONOMIC EXPLOITATION

Statement as President, Bengal Provincial Congress Committee, in an interview with the "Free Press", 5 September, 1929

India to-day is passing through an era of repression and our province is having its legitimate share of it. The Bengal Government is acting up to the pronouncement made in the last session of the Council to the effect that the repressive policy would remain unchanged till the end of the year. I welcome this repression with all my heart. It will only help to rouse our countrymen from their political torpor and thereby prepare the country for a new advance on the 1st of January next.

What is significant in the present repressive policy of the Government both in Bengal and elsewhere is that the Government has resorted to repression not only for suppressing the political activities, but also for checking the industrial activities of labour, particularly where such activities are calculated to hurt the interests of the foreign capitalists.

The Government and the foreign capitalists seem to be marching arm-in-arm towards their common goal, viz., the suppression of the movement for freedom—both political and economic. In response to this "entente cordial" we should establish an alliance—offensive and defensive —between the Indian National Congress and the Labour Movement in India. The country is used to stray doses of repression and has, in fact, acquired the habit of indulging in these stray stimulants. Consequently there is no danger that repression will weaken or demoralise us. If the Government expect that repression will kill or scotch the freedom movement in this country then I say I challenge you to do your worst.

GOVERNMENT BREACH OF FAITH : ON THE REASONS FOR THE HUNGER-STRIKE BY POLITICAL PRISONERS IN BARISAL

Statement on 24 September, 1929

Our countrymen do not probably know exactly why Sj Satindra Nath Sen and some of his co-workers are on hungerstrike. The grievances against which they have been fighting may be briefly summed up as follows :—

1. Revival of proceedings under Section 110 of Criminal Procedure Code against Sj. Sen and his comrades, which had been dropped in July, 1928, when the Patuakhali dispute was settled.

2. Institution of 2 assault cases, one against Sj. Sen and his comrades and the other against some of them.

In July, 1928 in order to end the Patuakhali Satyagraha movement, a compromise was arrived at between all the parties concerned at the instance of the District Magistrate of Barisal. As a part of this compromise all the cases against the Satyagrahis, including proceedings under sec. 110 Cr. P. C were withdrawn.

About the middle of March, 1929, Sj Satindra Nath Sen and some of his colleagues were suddenly arrested under Sec. 110 Cr. P. C. It soon transpired that the evidence to be tendered in this case referred almost wholly to the period prior to the settlement of the Patuakhali dispute. Sj Sen and his comrades naturally felt indignant over the revival of these proceedings which constituted a gross breach of faith on the part of the Government.

The assault cases arose out of altercation between the police and jail authorities on the one side and the prisoners on the other regarding conveyance arrangements which should be made for them or they should not be taken to court at all. The prisoners allege that though adequate conveyance arrangements were not made for them, they were forced to go to court under unsatisfactory conditions and even the sick were not exempted. On their refusing to do so, they were assaulted. These assault cases are believed to have been started for the purpose of penalising Sj. Sen and his comrades on the event of the failure of the proceedings under Section 110 Cr. P. C.

But Sj. Sen did not act hastily though he felt indignant at the attitude of the Government. He waited till the end of May to see if redress through judicial methods would be forthcoming or if his friends outside would be able to bring about his release. When no result was achieved he fell back on himself and resorted to hunger-strike.

I visited Barisal in July last in connection with the District Conference and on that occasion I interviewed Sj. Sen in jail. With great difficulty I succeeded in persuading him to give up hunger-strike. I was able to do this only by assuring him on my behalf and on behalf of the Barisal public that his cause would be espoused by his friends outside jail without his resorting to hunger-strike.

On my return from Barisal I wrote to Government about the grievances which had forced Sj. Sen to go on hunger-strike and I asked for early redress. I was informed in reply that Government were considering that matter but no redress has been forthcoming up till now.

After waiting for some time and finding that our efforts had failed, Sj. Sen and some of his comrades again resorted to hunger-strike. That hunger-strike is continuing till to-day so far as Sj Satindra Nath Sen is concerned and at present he is taking nothing except a small quantity of Soda Water. It is absolutely certain that if the hunger-strike continues for some time longer it can have only one end, viz., death. Sj. Satindra Nath Sen is persisting in his hunger-strike as a protest against the mean and vindictive attitude of the Government and particularly against their breach of faith in reviving proceedings which they had dropped once for all at the time of the settlement of the Patuakhali dispute. Though I tried my level best to persuade Sj. Sen to give up hunger-strike in order to save

his life, I confess I came back fully convinced that the attitude he had taken up was thoroughly honourable and upright and that ours was simply the counsel of caution. At a time when Sj. Sen is vindicating his honour by sacrificing his life and is attempting to prevent an abuse of Section 110 Cr. P. C. for the purpose of penalising political workers, we have but one duty, viz, to carry on such a raging and tearing campaign all over the country as will compel the Government to release Sj. Sen unconditionally. We have to tell the Government quite plainly by our attitude and conduct that human life is not cheaper in this country than elsewhere and that the people of Bengal are not prepared to see a repetition of the Lahore tragedy at Barisal.

THE INDISPENSABILITY OF MASS ORGANISATION AND SOCIAL REVOLUTION

Speech at Howrah District Political Conference on Saturday, 28 September, 1929

Mr. Chairman of the Reception Committee, Ladies and gentlemen,

You have organized the Howrah District Political Conference at a very auspicious and opportune moment indeed. Harder and harder problems are presenting themselves before the country every day and as a result of the policy of repression the political horizon of India has been overcast with dark clouds. And as a sort of prelude to the impending storm, sudden gusts of wind are blowing from time to time and flashes of forked lightning are playing at quick intervals. In weather like this, we passengers have been travelling along the path of freedom with our eyes fixed upon the distant goal and with hopes and fears, aspirations and anxieties beating in our breasts!

Only a few days ago, you made great preparations to show your love and respect to the memory of a great Bengalee hero, the very embodiment of valour and prowess and self-sacrifice of the highest order, near this very maidan. And thousands and thousands of men and women irrespective of their age or caste and creed, came to offer their tributes of love and respect to the hero throughout the night. The young worker Jatindra Nath, unknown to name and fame laid down his life with calm deliberation for the sake of his country's freedom, never swerving an inch from his iron resolve. And to-day I can only hope and fervently pray that his courage, his self-sacrifice, his prowess, his resolution, his patriotism and his marvellous power of action might continue to inspire us all until we have reached our common goal.

What is the Remedy ?

Inspite of our miserable plight and loss of independence and want of opportunities all along the line, India has produced any number of great men in the different walks of life during the last hundred and fifty years—a fact which has proclaimed to the world that this nation cannot die, does not mean to die. But our greatest misfortune lies in the fact that in a country which has given birth to so many great men the masses are so very much degraded and miserable and lost to all hopes and aspirations ! How to remedy this state of affairs ? Well, it will no longer do for us to base our national "Sadhana" on the doctrine of individualism : we must be prepared to build it up along the lines of a healthy socialism. Then and then only shall we see mighty spirits appearing in every hamlet and home of India, enriching her in wealth and glory from end to end.

What I have said above only means that if we are really anxious to see a new awakening, the pulsation of a new life, in the whole nation to-day, we shall have to do away with all sorts of artificial social inequalities forthwith, and afford equal opportunities to all calculated to help them to attain the full stature of their man-hood. All kinds of man-made irregularities, social, political or economic, must be given the go-by and women freed from the servitude of men.

In view of the intimate relation subsisting between the society and the state, I am fully convinced that we shall never get back our political power or be in a position to re-establish our political freedom unless we can bring about a radical change, a wholesale revolution, in our social system. So long as the entire nation will refuse to go mad after freedom, so long will our political salvation remain a chimera !

With the gradual spread and extending influence of the national movement the meaning of freedom also has been extended and amplified. There was a time when Swaraj meant "Colonial Self-Government" for us all ; but to-day it is synonymous with Complete Independence.

One of the surest way to find our path to freedom is to look to history. By discussing and analysing the history of Bengal and of India during the last thirty years, we come across three distinct and well-defined periods, namely, (1) the Age of Swadeshi (2) the Age of Anarchism or Revolution and (3) the Age of Non-co-operation. During the first period, our principal weapon was the boycott of British goods, especially the boycott of British cloth and salt. As a result of tremendous agitation during the days of Swadeshi, the partition of Bengal was annulled and the Morely-Minto Reforms introduced. The high head of the bureaucracy had to be bowed and its permanent settlement unsettled. The second phase of the revolutionary movement continued right upto 1918-19, and many a bright young man went to the gallows with a smiling face by way of paying the price of his patriotism ! But it was as a result of the activities of these high-souled young men that the British Government was compelled to introduce the Reforms of 1919.

The basic principle of the third on the non-co-operation stage is to organize the masses, free from the contaminating influence of the bureaucracy in every possible way, and thereby to destory the main foundations of our willing help and co-operation on which the British Government is established.

I am not aware if there are still people in our country who believe that a few bombs or pistols would help us to achieve our freedom. But unfortunately the salvation of India is not such a simple thing. A bomb or a pistol here and there may succeed in creating terrorism but can never bring about a revolution, which is an entirely different thing. While terrorism is a purely physical phenomenon and can be brought about even by a handful of people, revolution is born in the larger world of our thought and literature. The British people know it full well. That is why such a sharp and cruel eye is kept upon our national literature and such wonderful interpretations of sedition are obtained in India!

Any way, it is my firm conviction that the age of terrorism has passed for ever. Our main weapons now-a-days is mass organization. We shall have to get together our countrymen by way of safeguarding our interests and enforcing our claims. And this mass organization movement will have to be built up round specific claims or particular grievances. Wherever will be found traces of oppression, the tyranny of vested interests and so forth, there shall we have to carry on a persistent agitation. This will perhaps bring us into open conflict with the higher .castes of the society or sometimes the purse-proud capitalists and others; or again we may find ourselves compelled to resort to civil disobedience and stop payment of taxes by way of extorting our political rights. And this is how our countrymen will learn to put aside their narrow selfishness and be organized on a nationwide scale.

The very first and foremost means of building up a non-violent mass organization by way of making a success of the basic idea of non-co-operation, is, of course, propaganda and more propaganda. By means .of an extensive and incessant propaganda, we shall have to bring about a revolution in the mental world of our countrymen. Even thoughtful English writers, after visualizing such a contingency, have declared that when we shall learn to combine as a result of propaganda like this, British rule in India will come to an end forthwith.

We need to create a band of self-less workers who should be prepared to devote themselves whole-heartedly to work amongst the masses and to participate in the mass movements thoroughly inspired by a vision of full and

unfettered freedom. The youth and student movements are so necessary because of this vital need for stout-hearted workers. Discipline is another thing which we woefully lack. And in order to inculcate this spirit of discipline, we need to have a strong volunteer movement. We know when this volunteer movement will be crowned with success in Bengal, one of the greatest draw-back of the Bengalee character will be for ever removed.

If we are at all keen on solving the big problem confronting us in these days, we shall have to concentrate our attention on two things immediately. The first is the organization of volunteer corps on a military basis and the second is the whole-hearted participation by us all in the labour movement. I am constrained to say that our leaders have not given adequate attention to those two items of national work so far.

Just another word and I have finished. Looking at the present condition of the country, I feel that we shall be in a position to create a tremendous agitation throughout the length and breadth of our Motherland by next year. And the policy of repression, at present being pursued by the Government, won't be able to stop that movement. But we all perhaps need thousands of devoted workers during this terribly trying time. And should that contingency materialize, the students of Bengal would be called upon to come out of their schools and colleges once again. This time, however, for a year and not for ever. They will have to join the national movement in their thousands and hundreds of thousands. Perhaps the guardians would get angry at my words. But my reply is—"If you want freedom, there is no other way."

Gentlemen, I have finished. Perhaps, I have not been able to say anything new. But what I have said is all to the point—things of my heart and of innermost experience. I firmly believe that India shall be free again. Sons of Mother India shall once more walk upon the ample surface of this globe with their heads and shoulders erect, and their art and literature shall once again be appreciated at the parliament of nations! The fight is on. Brothers and sisters, come let us forget our petty personal squabbles at this auspicious moment and plunge headlong into the fray !

"BANDE-MATARAM"

MORE ON THE HUNGER-STRIKE BY SATIN SEN OF BARISAL

Statement as President, B.P.C.C., 4 October, 1929

The latest reports from Bengal say that Sj. Satindra Nath Sen, who is on hunger strike in Barisal Jail, is rapidly sinking. The Government have said that they are not going to withdraw the case against Sj. Satindra Nath Sen. They have received proceedings against Sj· Satindra Nath Sen and his co-workers which had either been quashed by the High Court or had been withdrawn by the Government at the time of the Patuakhali settlement. The sole object of these proceedings is to detain them in custody in order to crush their public activities. It is monstrous that a patriotic worker should be proceeded against under the infamous Section 110 Cr. P. C. and if the Government succeed in their endeavour, it will be a dangerous precedent for the whole country. When his countrymen are unable to free him, Sj. Satin Sen, as an honourable man, has no course but to adopt the line of action that he has been following. While he is dying a slow death, it is necessary for us to carry on a raging and tearing campaign all over the country for effecting his release. For this purpose permanent SATIN SEN RELEASE COMMITTEES should be started in every district of Bengal. These Committees should agitate for the release of Sj. Satin Sen and should start Satyagraha wherever possible and necessary. Only then shall we be able to tell the Government that the people of Bengal are determined not to have a repetition of the Lahore tragedy at Barisal and only then shall we be able to warn the Government most solemnly, about the dire consequences of their inhuman policy.

As a first step towards an All-Bengal Campaign, I re-

Leader of Youth: Subhas with Congress volunteers, 1929

Subhas with Congress colleagues, 1929

Subhas at 1, Woodburn Park, 1929

Bose, Nehru, and Congress workers, 1929

Subhas as Mayor of Calcutta, 1931

Subhas reading a newspaper in detention, 1932

Exiled to Europe: Subhas being carried out of an ambulance to the ship at the pier, Bombay, 13 February 1933

quest all Congress Committees in Bengal to observe Sunday, the 6th October. 1929, as an All-Bengal Satin Sen Day. Meetings, Processions, Demonstrations, Mass-prayers etc., for the health and release of Sj. Satin Sen should be held on that day.

APPEAL TO COUNTRYMEN REGARDING THE SELF-SACRIFICE OF SATIN SEN OF BARISAL

8 October, 1929

Speech fails me when I think how helpless we are. A most earnest worker for the cause of the country is dying inch by inch as a protest against the Government and we are unable to do anything for him. When he was imprisoned under section 110, he did not resort to hungerstrike, thinking that his countrymen would protest against the Government's repressive policy. But finding them indifferent, he has now taken up the weapon himself. When the Government did not hesitate to imprison a man of Satin Sen's position under this section, any national worker may be harassed in the same may. It is, therefore, not a menace to Bengal alone, but to the whole of India.

It is the intention of the Government to have Satin Sen anyhow clamped in jail. They have kept in reserve several other charges, which might be put into requisition in case the one under sec. 110 fails.

If the psychology underlying the self-sacrifice of Jatin Das and Satin Sen is examined, it will be seen that they resorted to hunger strike first inspired by a spirit of revolt and later on the pang of subjection went to their heart so deep that they became determined, and there was no inclination whatever to give up what had once been begun. When Mr Sengupta and myself argued with Satin to break the hungerstrike, he met our points with such formidable reasonings that it was apparent that he had a realisation, a revelation of the Truth. He told us, "I have never submitted to anybody in my life and have never given an insulting undertaking. If I come out today in this way to save my life, I lose all the mental strength I have acquired". Really, he is so strong, so determined and so uncompromising in spirit that even the Government is afraid of him.

Being a member of the Congress Working Committee I am bound by its' decision, but personally I am of opinion that it has not been proper for it to issue the mandate regarding hungerstrike. If after the self-immolation of Jatin anybody adopts the same measure, it must be understood that he has done it after due deliberation and so he should not be prevented from doing so.

Such selfimmolations, as of Jatin Das and Satin Sen, for the good of humanity never go in vain and even the Christians will admit it. Let the pang of subjection that inspired Jatin Das and Satin Sen be created in every one of us.

APPEAL TO SJ. J. M. SENGUPTA

10 October, 1929

Sj. J. M. Sengupta has for some time past been attacking me as well as the Executive Council of the Bengal Provincial Congress Committee both in private and in public. I have purposely refrained so far from saying a word in reply because I realise how unseemly it is for this dispute to be carried on in the press and platform. But after reading his latest utterances it is impossible for me to remain silent any longer particularly when Sj Sengupta has chosen to cross the bounds of propriety.

There is much that I would like to say with regard to the propagandist activities of Sj. Sengupta and his group but I shall reserve all that for a later occasion. I shall for the present refer to his remarks on the Jatindra Nath Das Memorial Committee and the Chittagong dispute.

A meeting of the Executive Council of the B.P.C.C. was convened after due notice for the purpose of taking steps to erect a suitable memorial to the great martyr.

Sj. Sen Gupta though a member of this body did not care to attend the meeting, though a couple of his lieutenants did. I presided at the meeting and I distinctly remember that all suggestions regarding the composition of the committee were adopted by the Executive Council. It was also the general sense of the meeting that if any other names were suggested later on, they would also be adopted.

After the meeting was dissolved and before the lapse of even half-an-hour, Sj. Kiran Sankar Roy, the Secretary of the B.P.C.C., received a telephone message from Sj. Sengupta's house to say that he did not desire to serve on the committee and that he did not want his name to appear in the papers the next morning. About the same time the Editor of the 'Free Press" also received a similar telephone message from Sj. Sengupta's house. The Secretary of the B.P.C.C., replied saying that he had no authority to omit the name of a member who had been elected by the Executive Council. I do not know if Sj Sengupta had the names of the members of the committee before him or if he knew the terms of reference of the Memorial Committee before he arrived at that hasty decision. In any case, it surprises all of us to learn that a leader of his position had acted in that fashion.

Evidently Sj. Sengupta realised his mistake soon after, for after a few days he sent wire to me from Lucknow saying that he would help the committee but regretting his inability to serve as a member of the committee.

Sj. Sengupta probably realises now that this position is self-contradictory and he is now trying to advance reasons for declining the membership of the committee. In the 'Basumati' of the 8th instant he says—"the primary reason amongst others for my unwillingness to be on the committee was because it was not only a committee for collection but also a committee which would have an authority to decide how the money was to be disbursed". May I inform Sj Sengupta that the committee to which he refers has no authority to decide how the money collected is to be disbursed.

Sj. Sengupta, in a manner quite unbecoming a leader of his position but which has unfortunately become characteristic of him today, proceeds to say, "Having regard to my personal experience in Bengal in the past and my personal incapacity to shoulder the responsibility of spending public money, I prefer not to be in the committee which had the responsibility of spending money on behalf of the public". If Sj. Sengupta has sufficient courage and frankness, I would request him not to indulge in insinuations but to be absolutely outspoken. And if he really believes that he suffers from "personal incapacity to shoulder the responsibility of spending public money", I wonder how he could be the head of a corporation which spends annually over two crores of rupees.

Sj. Sengupta has suddenly developed great solitude for Sj· Akhil Chandra Dutta, Sj· Jogindra Chandra Chakravarti and Sj. Bijoy Krishna Bose. If he really desired that they should be members of the Memorial Committee then why did he not come to the meeting of the Executive Council and put forward his suggestions ? Further, before he resigned from the committee in a huft, did he pause to enquire from us if there would be any objection to elect Sjs. Dutt, Chakravarti and Bose—or any lesser personage for that matter—to the Memorial Committee ? I should add in passing, that the reason he has advanced as to why the above-named gentlemen should have been elected (viz., that the details in the administration of the funds should be controlled....by the men present in Bengal) is quite off the mark, because the committee elected was purely a collection committee. Nevertheless, I can say with authority that there never was nor will be any objection to having as members distinguished persons like Messrs Dutta, Chakravarti and Bose.

In conclusion, Sj. Sengupta says in the "Basumati" of the 8th inst :

"Is there any impartial Congressman who has eyes to see who will fail to discern the deplorable results in almost every district congress committee following the execution of group policy of the head office of the Bengal Congress ?"

Following in this strain, Sj. Sengupta writes in yesterday's Basumati and Amrita Bazar Patrika regarding the Chittagong dispute as follows :

"I declare after very careful consideration of all the facts and with a full sense of responsibility that the unreasonable attitude of these few men was the direct result of that group policy of the Executive Council of the B.P.C·C., which has created division, disputes and disturbances almost in every district of Bengal."

I am publishing below a list of members of the Executive Council of the B.P.C.C., which will show clearly how representative that body is. It should be remembered that when the present Executive Council was elected in November 1928 there was no dispute between Sj. Sengupta and the B.P.C.C. He was present at the meeting of the B.P.C.C., when the present Executive Council was elected. The election had his approval, as it had the general approval of the B.P.C·C·,—and having been a party to the election it does not lie in his mouth to complain about the composition of the Executive Council. I would even go so far as to say that I challenge Sj. Sengupta to draw up a list of members of the Executive Council which will be more representative in character. Further, I would like Sj. Sengupta to recall the day when he asked the B.P.C.C. to give him power to 'nominate' an Executive Council which would be thoroughly loyal to him. And that power was given to him. But the present Executive Council was elected at a full meeting of the B.P.C.C. at which Sj Sengupta and all his lieutenants were present.

Sj. Sengupta refers to the divisions, disputes, disturbances etc., created in his opinion, by the group policy of the Executive Council of the B.P.C.C. May I ask Sj. Sengupta if he has forgotten the day when inspite of his leadership the whole of Bengal was torn asunder into factions and groups and there was the sorry spectacle of two Provincial Congress Committees in this province ? Did not this occur after the mantle of Deshbandhu had fallen on him and when he had been invested with all the power and influence and prestige which Deshbandhu possessed ? May I ask him what legacy he inherited from Deshbandhu in 1925, and what he bequeathed in 1972 to his successor ? Does the record of the B.P.C.C. during 1928 and 1929, compare unfaourably with the record of that body in 1926 and 1927—

though during the last two years the leadership has been divided and the financial contribution of Sj. Sengupta to the funds of the B.P.C.C. has been nil ?

At a time when we are engaged in a stiff fight with an unrelenting bureaucracy, we require all our forces to be united and concentrated in one direction. I would, therefore, appeal to Sj. Sengupta in the name of our common motherland to consider for a moment whether he is right in attempting to undermine the congress organisation in this province by publicly attacking the B.P.C.C. The congress in Bengal has braved many a storm and survived many an attack, whether from inside or from outside. But it would be unfortunate for us and for the whole province if the energy, influence and ability of Sj. Sengupta are dissipated in attacks on the B.P.C.C., which will serve the interests of no one except the foreign bureaucracy.

THE SATIN SEN HUNGER-STRIKE

Statement condemning a breach of faith by the Government, 15 October, 1929

When I received the alarming news in Calcutta that Sj. Satindra Nath Sen was sinking rapidly in Barisal Jail and that the end might come at any moment, I sent information to him through his brother Sj. Hem Chandra Sen that all his well-wishers and co-workers outside implored him not to go to the extreme length of courting death without giving them the final opportunity of meeting him. I also requested him to keep himself alive at least for a few days till we could come to Barisal and interview him. Fortunately, Sj. Hem Chandra Sen was able to persuade him to take some nourishment pending our arrival and as a result of this when I met him in Barisal Jail, there did not appear to be imminent danger of his collapse.

Satindra Nath Sen's main grievance, as I have said more than once, is the breach of faith committed by the Government in reviving the proceedings which had been dropped at the time of Patuakhali settlement and the use of the infamous section, namely, 110 Cr. P.C. for the purpose of penalising public workers when other sections of the Indian Penal code had evidently failed. There is also another grievance, namely, the institution of an assault case against them. The manner in which the executives have treated Satin Babu and his comrades shows how mean and vindictive they are, and their attitude and conduct call for the strongest condemnation.

Nevertheless, I have all along tried to convince Satin Babu that while his grievances are just and genuine, I have never been satisfied that the only method of redressing them is for him to go on hunger strike. It is true that he gave the public plenty of time to move on his behalf before he resorted to hunger strike and he was perfectly justified in taking matters into his own hands when he found after waiting for several months that public agitation had failed to achieve any tangible result.

But now that the whole province was astir and public indignation and resentment had been roused to the highest pitch he ought to leave the matter in the hands of the public outside and discontinue hunger strike. No one who knew Sj. Satin Sen had any doubt that he was sufficiently brave and fearless to meet death smilingly, if the occasion demanded that sacrifice. But I told him that the occasion had not arisen and to convince him about this, I impressed upon him two material points, firstly, that the breach of faith committed by Government in his case was not the first instance in the history of British India. On the contrary the history of British rule in India was, in the opinion of Indians, a history of broken pledges. Consequently to expect that Government would not commit any breach of faith in the year 1929 amounted, in a sense, to paying them a compliment which they did not deserve. Secondly, his courting death in the present circumstances of the country would hardly help any one except the foreign bureaucracy. When Satin Babu was looked upon by the Executive as a thorn in their path, removal of that thorn might be heartily welcomed by them.

These and other arguments urged during the long conversation with him ultimately went home and Sj. Satin Sen, after great diffculty agreed to give up hunger-strike but he made it clear that he would take only such nourishment as would keep him alive while public agitation was being carried on and he said, in conclusion, that he still reserved to himself the liberty to resume hunger strike in case public agitation failed to redress his grievances. I have assured him that everything possible would be done in order to secure the redress of his grievances as early as possible.

These are the circumstances in which Satin Sen has been persuaded to break his fast. While expressing his gratitude to all those who have felt concern and anxiety for him and have done their best to agitate on his behalf, I would request them to remember that his grievances still remain unredressed. Whatever the judgement of the trying Magistrate may be, Satin Babu's grievances have to be redressed and in order to effect this all peaceful and legitimate weapons will have to be used. Let us all, therefore, resolve to do all in our power to vindicate the honour of Satin Babu and to prevent once for all the abuse of Section 110 Cr. P.C. for a political purpose.

PUNJAB AND BENGAL, STUDENTS AND POLITICS

Speech at the Lahore session of the Punjabi Students' Conference, 19 October, 1929

Sisters And Brothers of the Punjab,

I thank you from the very core of my heart for the warm and cordial welcome you have given me on the occasion of my first visit to the sacred 'Land of the Five Rivers'. I know how little I deserve the honour and the welcome which you have been pleased to accord me and my only wish to day is that I may be a little more worthy of the kindness and hospitality with which I have been greeted here.

You have summoned me from distant Calcutta to come and speak to you. Here I am standing before you today ready to respond to your call. But why have you summoned me of all persons ? Is it because the East and the West must meet to solve their common problems ? Is it because Bengal, which was the first to come under foreign yoke, and Punjab, which was the last to be enslaved, have needed each other ? Or is it because you and I have something in common—sharing the same thoughts and cherishing the same aspirations ?

And what an irony of fate that you want me—once an expelled student of a sister University to address a gathering of students here in Lahore ? Can you now object if our elders complain that the time is out of joint, for strange persons and novel ideas now find favour with the world ? If you have invited me with full knowledge of my past record, you ought really to be able to anticipate what I am going to say.

Friends, you will pardon me if at the very outset I take this opportunity of giving public utterance—however feeble it may be—to the feelings of gratitude that surge within me as I think of what the Punjab and particularly the youths of the Punjab have done for Jatindranath Das and his fellow-sufferers from Bengal during their stay in the Punjab jails. The arrangements for their defence, the extreme anxiety and solicitude felt for them as long as they were on hungerstrike and the sympathy, affection and honour bestowed on Jatin during his lifetime and after—have stirred the heart of Bengal to its' depths.

Not content with what they had done at Lahore prominent members of the Defence committee travelled all the way to Calcutta to escort the mortal remains of the great martyr and hand them over to us there. We are an emotional people and the largeness of your heart has endeared you to us to an indescribable degree. Bengal will ever remember with thankfulness and gratitude what Punjab did for her in one of her darkest days.

One of your distinguished leaders, Dr. Alam, was describing to us one day in Calcutta, while referring to the great martyr, how the sun rose in the East and set in the

West and how after sun set the moon rose in the West and travelled back to the East. Thus did Jatin live and die. From Calcutta to Lahore he travelled in life and after death, his mortal remains went back to Calcutta. They went back not as dead clay but as a symbol of something pure, noble and divine. Jatin today is not dead. He lives up in the heavens as a star "Of purest ray serene" to serve as a beaconlight to posterity. He lives in his immortal sacrifice and in his celestial suffering. He lives as a vision, as an ideal—as an emblem of what is purest and noblest in humanity. And I believe that he has through his self-immolation not only roused the soul of India but has also forged an indissoluble tie between the two provinces where he was born and where he died. I therefore envy your great city which has been the "tapasyakshetra"—the place of penance of this modern 'Dadhichi'.

As we are gradually approaching the dawn of freedom, our cup of suffering and sorrow is becoming full. It is but natural that our rulers, like despots elsewhere, should become more and more relentless as they find power gradually slipping out of there hands. And one should not be surprised if by and by they cast off all pretensions to civilization and rid themselves of the mask of decency in order that the nailed fist may be used freely and without hesitation. Punjab and Bengal are at the present moment enjoying the largest doses of repression. This is indeed a matter for congratulation for we are thereby qualifying for swaraj in an effective manner. The spirits of heroes like Bhagat Singh and Batukeswar Dutta cannot be cowed down by repression. On the contrary, it is through repression and suffering, through humiliation and sorrow, that heroes will be made. Let us therefore welcome repression with all our heart and make the fullest use of it when it comes.

Little do you know how much Bengali literature has drawn from the earlier history of the Punjab in order to enrich itself and edify its readers. Tales of your heroes have been composed and sung by our great poets including Rabindranath Tagore and some of them are today familiar in every Bengali home. Aphorisms of our saints have been translated into elegant Bengali and they afford

solace and inspiration to millions in Bengal. This cultural contact has its counterparts in the political sphere and we find your political pilgrims meeting ours not only in the jails in India but also in the jails of distant Burma and in the wilds of the Andaman across the Seas.

Friends, I shall make no apology if in this discourse I refer at length to political questions and endeavour to answer them. I know that there are people in this country —even eminent personages—who think that "a subject race has no politics" and that students in particular should have nothing to do with politics. But my own view is that a subject-race has nothing but politics. In a dependent country every problem that you can think of, when analysed properly, will be found to be at bottom a political problem. Life is one whole—as the Late Deshbandhu C.R. Das used to say—and you cannot therefore separate politics from economics or from education. Human life cannot be split up into compartments. All the aspects or phases of national life are inter-related and all the problems are, as it were, interwoven. This being the case, it will be found that in a subject race all the evils and all the shortcomings can be traced to a political cause—viz., political servitude. Consequently students cannot afford to blind themselves to this all-important problem of how to achieve our political emancipation.

I do not understand why a special ban should be imposed on participation in politics if no such ban is imposed on national work in general. I can understand a ban on all national work but a ban merely on political work is meaningless. If in a dependent country, all problems are fundamentally political problems—then all national activity is in reality political in character. There is no ban on participation in politics in any free country—on the contrary, students are encouraged to take part in politics. This encouragement is deliberately given because out of the ranks of the students arise political thinkers and politicians. If in India, students do not take active part in politics, from where are we to recruit our political workers and where are we to train them ? Further, it has to be admitted that participation in politics is necessary for the development of character and manhood. Thought, without action, cannot suffice to build character and for this reason, participation in healthy activity—political, social, artistic, etc.,—is necessary for developing character. Bookworms, gold-medalists and office-clerks are not what universities should endeavour to produce—but men of character who will become great by achieving greatness for their country in different spheres of life.

One of the most encouraging signs of time is the growth of a genuine students' movement all over India. This movement I consider to be a phase of the wider youth movement. There is a great deal of difference between the students' conference of to-day and those of the previous decade. The latter were generally held under official auspices and on the gateway appeared the motto—"those shall not talk politics". These conferences could in a manner be compared with those sessions of the Indian National Congress in the earlier stages of its history, where the first resolution passed was one affirming our loyalty to the King Emperor. We have fortunately outgrown that stage not only in the Indian National Congress but also in the students' movement. The students' conferences of today meet in a freer atmosphere and those who participate in these conferences think and talk as they like, subject to the restrictions imposed by the Indian Penal code.

The youth movement of today is characterised by a feeling of restlessness, of impatience with the present order of things and by an intense desire to usher in a new and a better order. A sense of responsibility and a spirit of self-reliance pervades this movement. Youth of the present day no longer feel content by handing over all responsibility to their elders. They rather feel that the country and the country's future belong more to them than to the older generation and it is therefore their bounden duty to accept the fullest responsibility for the future of their country and to equip themselves for the proper discharge of that responsibility. The students' movement, being a phase of the larger youth movement, is inspired by the same outlook, psychology and purpose as the latter.

The students' movement of today is not a movement of responsible, thoroughgoing men and women who are inspired with one ideal—viz., to develop their character and personality and thereby render the most effective and useful service to the cause of their country. This movement has, or should have, two lines of activity. In the first place it should deal with the problems which relate exclusively to the student population of the day and endeavour to bring about their physical, intellectual and moral regeneration. In the second place, looking upon the subject as the future citizen, it should endeavour to equip him for the battle of life and for this purpose, it should give him a foretaste of what problems and activities are likely to confront him when he enters the arena of life.

The first aspect of the students' movement, to which I have just referred, may not in the ordinary course of things be looked upon with disfavour by the powers that be—but the other aspect of the movement is likely to be discouraged, condemned and even thwarted at times. It is neither desirable nor necessary for me to attempt to give a detailed programme of what you should undertake under the first head. That will depend partly on your special needs and shortcomings and partly on the arrangements, if any, that are made by the educational authorities to fulfil those needs and remove those shortcomings. Every student requires a strong and healthy physique, a sound character and a brain full of useful information and healthy dynamic ideas. If the arrangements provided by the authorities do not conduce to the proper growth of physique, character and intellect, you will have to provide facilities which will ensure that growth. And if the authorities welcome your efforts in that direction all the better for you—but if they do not—leave them alone and go your own way. Your life is your own and the responsibility for developing it is after all yours, more than anybody else's.

In this connection there is one suggestion I have to offer to which I should like to draw your attention. I wish our students' associations could start cooperative Swadeshi stores within their respective jurisdiction for the exclusive benefit of the student population. If these stores are run efficiently by the students themselves, they will serve a dual purpose. On the one hand Swadeshi goods will be made available to the students at a cheap price and thereby home industries would be encouraged. On the other hand, students could acquire experience in running cooperative stores and could utilise the profits for advancing the welfare of the student community. For advancing the cause of student welfare, other items in your programme would be physical culture societies, gymnasium, study circles, debating societies, magazines, music clubs, libraries and reading rooms, social service leagues, etc.

The other, and probably more important aspect, of the students' movement is the training of the future citizen. This training will be both intellectual and practical. We shall have to hold out before the students a vision of the ideal society which he should try to realise in his own life-time and at the same time chalk out for him a programme of action which he should try to follow to the best of his ability—so that while performing his duties as a student he may at the same time be preparing himself for his post-university career. It is in this sphere of activity that there is a likelihood of conflict with the authorities. But whether the conflict will actually arise or not, depends largely on the attitude of the educational authorities. If the conflict does unfortunately arise, there is no help for it and students should once for all make up their minds to be absolutely fearless and self-reliant in the matter of preparing themselves, through thought and action, for their post-university career.

Before I proceed to give you my conception of the ideal that we should all cherish, I shall with your permission indulge in a digression which will not be altogether irrelevant. There is hardly any Asiatic today to whom the spectacle of Asia lying strangled at the feet of Europe does not cause pain and humiliation. But I want you to get rid of the idea, once for all, that Asia has always been in this state. Europe today may be the top-dog but time was when Asia was the top-dog. History tells us how in the days of old Asia conquered and held away over a large portion of Europe and in those days Europe was mightily afraid of

Asia. The tables are turned now but the wheel of fortune is still moving and there is no cause for despair. Asia is at the present moment busy throwing off the yoke of thraldom and the time is not far off when rejuvenated Asia will rise resplendent in power and glory out of the darkness of the past and take her legitimate place in the comity of free nations.

The immortal East is sometimes stigmatized by the hustlers from the West as "unchanging" just as Turkey was once upon a time called the sick man of Europe. But this abuse can no longer apply to Asia in general or to Turkey in particular. From Japan to Turkey and from Siberia to Ceylon, the entire orient is astir. Everywhere there is change, there is progress, there is conflict with custom, authority and tradition. The East is unchanging as long as she chooses to be so, but once she resolves to move, she can progress faster than even Western nations. This is what is happening in Asia at the present day.

We are sometimes asked if the activity and the agitation that we witness in Asia and particularly in India are signs of real life or whether they are simply reactions to external stimuli and one has to be sure that the movements we behold are not like the reflex actions of muscles that are dead. My conviction is that the test of life is creative activity and when we find that present day movements give evidence of originality and creative genius we feel sure that we are really alive as a Nation and the renaissance that we witness in different spheres of our national life is a genuine awakening from within.

In India today we are in the midst of a whirlpool of ideas. Numerous currents, cross currents and undercurrents are flowing from all directions. A strange intermingling is going on and in the midst of the confusion of ideas that has arisen, it is not possible for the ordinary man to distinguish between good and bad and right and wrong.

But if we are to rejuvenate our country and guide it along the right path, we must have a clear vision of the goal and of the path we shall have to travel in order to reach that goal.

Indian civilization has just emerged out of the dark ages and is now entering on a new lease of life. At one time there was a genuine danger as to whether that civilization would die a normal death like the civilization of Phoenicia and Babylon. But it has once again survived the onslaught of time. If we want to continue the work of rejuvenation that has begun, we must bring about a revolution of ideas in the thought world and an intermingling of blood in the biological plane. Unless we refuse to accept the verdict of history and the considered opinion of thinkers like Sir Flinders Petric—we have to admit that it is only by this means that old and worn out civilizations can be rejuvenated. If you do not accept this view of mine you will have to discover by your own investigation the law underlying the rise and fall of civilizations. Once we succeed in discovering this law, we shall be able to advise our countrymen as to what is necessary for us to do if we are to create a new, healthy and progressive nation in this ancient land of ours. If we are to bring about a revolution of ideas we have first to hold up before us an ideal which will galvanise our whole life. That ideal is Freedom. But freedom is a word which has a varied connotation and even in our country, the conception of freedom has undergone a process of evolution. By freedom I mean all-round freedom i.e., freedom for the individual as well as for society, freedom for man as well as for woman, freedom for the rich as well as for the poor, freedom for all individuals and for all classes. This freedom implies not only emancipation from political bondage but also equal distribution of wealth, abolition of caste barriers and social iniquities and destruction of communalism and religious intolerance. This is an ideal which may appear utopian to hard-headed men and women—but this ideal alone can appease the hunger of the soul.

Freedom has as many facets as there are aspects in our national life. There are individuals who when they talk of freedom think only of some particular aspects of freedom. It has taken us several decades to outgrow this narrow conception of freedom and to arrive at a full and all-rouud conception of it. If we really love freedom and love it, not for some selfish end, but for its own sake the time has come for us to recognise that true freedom means freedom from bondage of every kind and freedom not only for the individual but also for the whole of society. This, to my mind, is the ideal of the age and the vision that has captivated my soul is the vision of a completely free and emancipated India.

The only method of achieving freedom is for us to think and feel as free men. Let there be a complete revolution within and let us be thoroughly intoxicated with the wine of freedom. It is only freedom-intoxicated men and women who will be able to free humanity. When the 'will to be free' is roused within us we shall then proceed to plunge headlong into an ocean of activity. The voice of caution will no longer deter us and the lure of truth and glory will lead us on to our cherished goal.

Friends, I have tried to tell you something about what I feel, think and dream about my life's goal and what is at present the motive power behind all my activities. Whether this will attract you or not, I do not know. But one thing is to me perfectly clear—life has but one purpose, viz., freedom from bondage of every kind. Hunger after freedom is the song of the soul—and the very first cry of the newborn baby is a cry of revolt against the bondage in which it finds itself. Rouse this intense desire for freedom within yourselves and in your countrymen and I am sure India will be free in no time.

India is bound to be free—of that there is not the slightest doubt. It is to me as sure as day follows night. There is no power on earth which can keep India in bondage any longer. But let us dream of an India for which it would be worthwhile to give all that we have—even life itself—and for which we could sacrifice our dearest and nearest. I have given you my own conception of freedom and I have tried to portray before you India as I want her to be; let a completely emancipated India preach to the world her new gospel of freedom.

Even at the risk of being called a chauvinist, I would say to my countrymen that India has a mission to fulfil and it is because of this that India still lives. There is nothing mystic in this word 'mission'. India has something original to contribute to the culture and civilization of the world in almost every department of human life. In the midst of her present degradation and slavery, the contribution she has been making is by no means a small one. Just imagine for a moment how great her contribution will be once she is free to develop along her own lines and in accordance with her own requirements.

There are people in this country and some of them eminent and respectable personages—who will not agree to an all-round application of the principle of freedom. We are sorry if we can not please them, but in no circumstance can we give up an ideal which is based on truth, justice, and equality. We shall go our own way, whether others join us or not—but you can be rest assured that even if a few desert us, thousands and even millions will ultimately join our army of freedom. Let us have no compromise with bondage, injustice or inequality. Friends, it is time for all lovers of freedom to bind themselves into one happy fraternity and form the army of freedom.

Let this army send out not only soldiers to fight the battle of freedom but also missionaries to propagate the new cult of freedom. It is from amongst you that these missionaries and these soldiers will have to be created. In our programme of action we must have intensive and extensive propaganda on the one hand and a country-wide volunteer organisation on the other. Our missionaries will have to go amongst the peasants and factory workers and preach the new message. They will have to inspire the youths and organise youth leagues all over the country. And last but not least, they will have to rouse the entire womanhood of the country—for woman must now come forward to take her place in society and in the body politic as an equal partner of man.

Friends, many of you must be now training yourselves for joining the ranks of the Indian National Congress. The Indian National Congress is undoubtedly the supreme national organisation in this country and in it all our hopes are centered. But the Indian National Congress itself depends, or should depend, for its strength, influence and

power on such movements as the labour movement, youth movement, peasant movement, women's movement, students' movement etc. If we succeed in emancipating our labour, peasantry, depressed classes, youths, students and womenfolk we shall be able to rouse such a force in the country as will make the Indian National Congress a potent instrument for achieving our political salvation. If therefore you want to serve the Indian National Congress most effectively you will at the same time have to promote the allied movements to which I have referred above.

Next door to us is China—let us therefore take a leaf out of recent Chinese history. See what the students in China have done for their motherland. Can we not do the same in India? The renaissance in modern China is due almost wholly to the activities of Chinese students—both men and women. They have on the one hand gone out into the villages and into the towns and factories to preach the new message of freedom and on the other hand they have organised the whole country from one end to the other. We shall have to do the same thing in India. There is no royal road to freedom. The path to freedom is no doubt a thorny one but it is a path which also leads to glory and immortality. Let us break with the past, destroy all the shackles which have bound us for ages and like true pilgrims let us march shoulder to shoulder towards the destined goal of freedom. Freedom means life, and death in the pursuit of freedom means the highest glory imperishable. Let us therefore resolve to be free or at least to die in the pursuit of freedom—and let us show by our conduct and character that we are worthy of being the countrymen of the great martyr—Jatindra Nath Das.

BANDE MATARAM

APPEAL TO THE YOUTH OF PUNJAB

Lahore, 24 October, 1929

While I am in Lahore, I would earnestly appeal to my young friends of the Punjab to think of their duty when so many of their fellow-countrymen and patriots are rotting in prisons. If they suffer, they do so in order that we may prosper, if they die, they do so in order that we may live as free men. If, therefore, we really love them and honour them for their sacrifice and suffering, it is our solemn duty to devote ourselves whole-heartedly to the cause of the country.

The Government have set their repressive policy in full motion and they will succeed in fulfilling their object if the youths of the Punjab do not immediately rise to the occasion. The only fitting reply to this repressive policy would be for the youth to demonstrate that for every worker sent to jail, a thousand others are coming forward to take up his work. The students have a very great responsibility in the matter for they are the most advanced section of the youth.

If the college authorities or the Government throw any obstacles in the way of the students enlisting as volunteers, I think, it should be the sacred duty of the students to ignore such position and do their duty fearlessly. The students of India like the students of other countries have every right to serve their country and to take an active part in politics. That is their birthright and they should not suffer anyone to deprive them of that birthright. I earnestly appeal to the youth, and particularly to the students, to enlist as volunteers in their thousands as soon as possible.

They should undergo a full course of volunteers' training and be ready to serve as an efficient and disciplined body when the Congress assembles. There is no doubt that the success of the congress session depends largely on the efficiency and discipline of the volunteer corps. With such a glorious martial tradition behind them, it should not be at all difficult for the Punjab youth to organise an efficient volunteer corps if only the effort is forthcoming. There is not much time left between now and the end of December. Let the youngmen and the students, therefore, pay real homage to their chained heroes and to their undying martyrs by immediately enlisting as volunteers for the service of the Indian National Congress.

APPEAL FOR HELP FOR THE SEVA DAL

Lahore, 24 October, 1929

The Hindustani Seva Dal, an all-India volunteers' organisation for enlisting and training volunteers has been in existence for several years. During this period it has been the practice to hold an All India Volunteers' Conference every year as an adjunct to the Indian National Congress. This year also the annual volunteers' conference will be held at Lahore.

No Indian will question the desirability of having a permanent organisation with headquarters for the purpose of starting the work of volunteers' organisations in the country. The Hindustani Seva Dal has so far done very valuable work in certain parts of the country, but the Dal could certainly do more work if more men and money were forthcoming. The work of opening training camps and training classes, which the Dal has taken in hand, requires money and workers. It is, therefore, the duty of the public to come forward to assist this noble endeavour to the best of their ability.

The Seva Dal has its headquarters stationed at Bagalkot where special arrangements are provided for the training of volunteers and volunteer officers. It is now necessary for the Dal to carry on more efficiently the work they have already taken in hand and to start centres where no volunteer organisations have yet been started. I, therefore, appeal to the public and to the youth in particular to help the work of the Hindustani Seva Dal in all possible ways.

APPEAL TO ERECT A SUITABLE MEMORIAL OF JATINDRA NATH DAS

Speech at the birthday meeting of Jatindra Nath Das, 28 October 1929

In speaking of Jatindra Nath, it is scarcely possible for me to restrain my feeling. However, as the task of presiding over the function has devolved upon me, I am bound to do my duty.

The sacrifice of Jatindra Nath has brought about a radical change in the political atmosphere of the Punjab. Its effect upon the people there will be easily realised if we compare the present state of the Punjab with what she was a few years ago. Punjab, the hot-bed of communalism, the storm centre of all communal strifes in the past, is becoming a land of inter-communal unity, concord and peace. From the one end of the province to the other, his sacrifice and martyrdom have produced a profound impression not only upon the educated classes but on the common people as well. It will not be an exaggeration to say that there none dare speak of communalism now. "Long live Revolution", "Long live dear Das" are the two most popular cries that ring throughout the province today. Sometimes I feel like asking myself if the people of Bengal are as moved as those of the Punjab. Jatin Das joined the non-cooperation movement in 1921 about the time that we did. I remember, in 1921 he was with us while we were picketing the cloth shops on Russa Road just before the Pujah. Like many he was sent to jail but unlike a large number of them, he remained in the field of active national work even after his release because his burning love for his country was not extinguished. He was again clamped into jail under the Ordinance in 1925. While in Burma, we were having a talk with a senior C.I.D. Officer who in course of conversation spoke of Jatindranath in his eulogistic terms, which his subsequent career has amply justified.

There are some people who say that Jatin sacrificed himself in order to improve the condition of political sufferers. This may be partly true but not wholly true. No doubt when Jatindanath commenced the hunger-strike, better treatment of political prisoners was the specific issue before him. But I do not think that one can lay down his life for a small and narrow issue like this. What happens when one goes on hunger-strike is that the mind undergoes a radical transformation after sometime, when no redress is forthcoming. The issue becomes broader and there comes a stage when the entire soul revolts against the bondage and the oppression, one of the manifestations of which is the inhuman treatment meted out to political prisoners. When the soul rises in revolt against all bondage and oppression resulting from the rule of the foreign bureaucracy, one gets ready to lay down his life as a protest against bondage, tyranny and servitude. It was when Jatindranath attained this inner transformation that he could die so cheerfully. Others who did not reach this mental stage but remained confined to the narrow issue till the last—could not pay the ultimate price.

It may not be known to you that Jatindranath Das at first disinclined to resort to hunger-strike. He said, "Well, hunger-strike is not totally unknown to me. You have no experience of it. If I take it up once, I will never recede from it". We know, and the world knows, how he stuck to his word.

I wonder how he acquired that superhuman power. During the last All-India Youth Congress at Calcutta, I said in effect that we could acquire strength and freedom not through penance in the jungles nor through contemplation in the ashramas, but through struggle, action and fight. We learn from the life of Jatindra Nath this moral that our only "Sadhana" at this age is to conquer death, like him, through action and struggle.

The combined efforts of all the leaders of Indian Nationalism cannot bring about the awakening which his self-immolation has aroused. The rock of communalism which no leader of the country could dislodge from the path of progress has melted into pieces on the self-immolation of a youth.

I shall conclude by referring to the humble efforts we are putting forth to erect a suitable memorial to him. About two lacs of rupees will be required for the purpose. There are people in South Calcutta, not to speak of Bengal, who alone can find the money and since he was an inhabitant of this place, I should say that South Calcutta alone should find the money if need be. I wish that the money raised in the Punjab could remain there. He was a youth, a student and a volunteer, and it behoves the youth, students and volunteers to contribute liberally to the memorial fund. The enthusiasm among the students of the Punjab is high. I have seen colleges vying with one another collecting money for the fund.

Jatin was one of those who organised the Bengal Volunteer Corps. His last wish was firstly that this corps should be placed on a sound footing, and this will, I hope, appeal to every heart. Upliftment and emancipation of the women of Bengal was another work which he cherished very much till the last moment of his life, and I hope, that we all shall try our best to act in accordance with the political testament of his.

THE TRUE FACE OF COLONIALISM

Statement regarding the debate in the House of Lords, 8 November, 1929

When the viceregal pronouncement was first made the Liberals and the Conservatives in England made an exhibition of their wrath and resentment. This drove some of our countrymen to the conclusion that they should strengthen the hands of the Labour Government by extending the hand of co-operation. But the storm of resentment has blown over so soon that one is led to suspect that the whole incident was ingeniously stage-managed. Lord Parmoor's speech in the House of Lords must have come as a rude shock to those who wanted to read in the Viceregal pronouncement more than was actually meant.

The speech has been very useful in clearing the atmosphere of unwarranted hopes. It has been definitely

stated by His Lordship that there is no certainty as to when Dominion Status will be granted. Further, it has been made clear that the conditions contained in the Declaration of 1917 and the Preamble to this Government of India Act 1919 are to remain in full force and these reservations are to be retained without alteration of exception. It has also been affirmed that there is absolutely no difference between the views stated by Lord Reading and those held by the Labour Government and the leaders of the Conservative and Liberal parties.

Last but not least there is a tacit admission that the Conference proposed is not a genuine Round Table Conference. The entire procedure laid down in connection with the work of the Simon Commission and followed at the time of the Montagu-Chelmsford reforms is to remain untouched. The conference has been introduced as a sort of wedge between two successive stages of the above procedure. Its decision will not be binding on both parties because it has been stated that after the Conference has met, the matter will have to be decided by the Parliament.

This clear and refreshing statement will, I hope, remove all the cobwebs of hope that some amongst us had been spinning for the last few days. I do not know how the leaders will view this speech of Lord Parmoor. Personally, I take it as a reply to the leader's statement and I would, therefore, decide upon my course of action in the light of this interpretation.

The practical effect of a statement like the one made by Lord Irwin is simply to induce us to slacken our efforts in preparing the country for a bold move. Frail human beings as we are, we are led to hope and to believe that there is a short cut to freedom which does not entail a long and bitter struggle and protracted suffering and sacrifice. But we need not any longer live in a paradise of hope—Lord Parmoor has acquainted us with the stern realities of the situation.

Let us, therefore, get ready to hold aloft the banner of independence at Lahore and let us carry on with redoubled energy the work of preparing the country for the coming crisis.

WITHDRAWAL OF RESIGNATION FROM THE WORKING COMMITTEE OF THE A.I.C.C.

Statement explaining the reasons. 22 November, 1929

On my return from Allahabad I find that inaccurate reports of the proceedings of the Leader's Conference and of the Working Committee have appeared in the Calcutta papers. This has happened because press representatives have tried to give reports of Conference and Committee meetings at which they were not present. It is clear that in writing the reports they have drawn largely from hearsay and from imagination.

In the "Statesman" of the 20th instant there is a report that the Working Committee had at a meeting held after the midnight of the 18th, unanimously passed a resolution confirming the action of the congress leaders at Delhi. I do not know, however, that any meeting of the Working Committee was held after the midnight of the 18th, at least I was not present at any such meeting. I was present at two sittings of the Working Committee on the 18th but nothing was finally decided at those two meetings. I did not take part in the discussion which went on at these two meetings because as I explained there, I had already made my position clear with regard to the viceregal announcement. I am sorry that the press reports give the impression that I was a party to the Working Committee's resolution. My attitude today is exactly the same as it was at Delhi.

I have been asked by several friends as to why I withdrew my resignation from the Working Committee. It will be remembered that when Messrs Srinivasa Iyengar, Jawaharlal Nehru, Samhamurti and I were elected to the Working Committee we were known to be 'independence-wallas' and we were elected as such. The Calcutta Resolution too gave us liberty to carry on propaganda in favour of independence. Nevertheless, when Mahatma Gandhi stated at the Delhi Conference that the Working Committee was like a Cabinet and the decision of the majority should be binding on all the members, I felt the force of his argument and I thought it would be better to resign from the Working Committee. This would enable me to carry on propaganda in favour of independence and give full expression to my views regarding the Viceregal pronouncement, without in any way embarrassing the other members of the Working Committee. In the Working Committee meeting when Pandit Motilal Nehru and other leaders said that it was not necessary for me to resign because in the Working Committee there was room for different shades of opinion and when a resolution was passed requesting Pandit Jawaharlal and myself to withdraw our resignations, I felt that the best course for me would be to comply with the request. As long as the Working Committee give me the liberty of speech and action there is no reason why I would not serve on the Committee.

THE ROLE OF THE YOUTH IN OUR NATIONAL LIFE

Speech as President of the first C.P. Youth Conference, Nagpur, 29 November 1929

Mr. Chairman and Friends,

I thank you for the honour you have done to me by asking me to preside over the Central Provinces Provincial Youth Conference.

We are passing through a critical stage in our national history and it is the duty of all youth to put their heads together in order to determine our future course of action. I consider it to be a most hopeful sign of the times that the youth of C.P., without looking up for lead or guidance from our elders, should of their own initiative assemble for the purpose of solving, or attempting to solve, the fundamental problems of our national life. If I can in some measure contribute to the success of your noble endeavour I shall consider myself fortunate and my efforts amply rewarded.

There are people in this country, and some of them eminent in public life, who look upon the Youth Movement today with some degree of disfavour or confess that they do not appreciate the purpose and significance of this movement. There are other people who do not realise the inner meaning of the Youth Movement but who nevertheless have joined this movement probably out of a feeling that a movement should not be allowed to grow in which they do not play some part.

From the dawn of the present renaissance in India up till today, several movements and thought-currents appeared one after another. That in addition to these movements another movement should come into existence in the shape of the Youth Movement is in itself a sufficient proof that such a phenomenon was called for. There is certainly some fundamental craving in the soul of the individual and of the nation to satisfy for which the Youth Movement had to be created. What is that fundamental craving? It is the desire for freedom and self-fulfilment.

The country needs today a movement which will vouchsafe to the individual and to the nation complete emancipation from bondage of every kind as well as the fullest power of self-fulfilment and self-expression. There are people who would like to convert our Youth Conferences into the back benches of the Indian National Congress, but little do they understand the purpose and significance of the Youth Movement.

The Indian National Congress, being primarily a political body, is naturally restricted in its scope. Even with regard to the political problem its objective has not yet been declared to be full independence. It is not therefore a matter for surprise that youngmen and young women who see life as one whole and who desire freedom in every sphere of life should feel dissatisfied with a purely political body like the Indian National Congress and would hanker after a movement which endeavours to satisfy all the cravings of the human soul and the needs of our life. It, therefore, follows that while the Youth Movement is not merely political, it is not non-political. In its scope it is as large as life itself. And since the whole includes all its parts, it is certain that the growth of the Youth Movement will stimulate our political developments as well.

The Youth Movement is an emblem of our dissatisfaction with the present order of things. It stands for the revolt of youth against age-long bondage, tyranny and oppression. It seeks to create a new and a better world for ourselves and for humanity by removing all shackles and giving the fullest scope to the creative activity of mankind. The Youth Movement is not therefore an additional or an exotic growth super imposed on the movements of today. It is a genuine independent movement, the mainsprings of which lie deeply embedded in human nature.

This movement has come into existence because it fulfils, or strives to fulfil, a crying need of the times and the craving of the human soul. If one does not realise the inner meaning and purpose of the movement, he can do nothing by merely joining the movement or by "capturing" youth associations. To my mind any association of young men and young women cannot deserve the name of youth association unless it has all the characteristics of the latter. As I have already hinted, all youth movements are characterised by a feeling of restlessness and of dissatisfaction with the existing state of things and they seek to usher in a better order. They stand for freedom from bondage and for revolt against custom and authority, where custom and authority militate against the promptings of the human conscience. Their motto is self-confidence and self-reliance—as against blind homage and unquestioning obedience to our elders. In these circumstances one cannot be surprised if some of our elders view these movements with dislike or disfavour.

The purpose of the youth movement is to re-create our whole life and to breathe into it the inspiration of a new ideal. It is this ideal which will give a new meaning and significance to the life that we create. That ideal is full all-round freedom and complete self-fulfilment. Freedom and self-fulfilment are intimately and inseparably connected. Without freedom, self-fulfilment is not possible and freedom has value because it leads to self-fulfilment.

The youth movement is in its scope co-existing with life itself. It therefore follows that the youth movement will have as many departments as there are aspects in our life. If we are to rejuvenate the body, we shall need sports, athletics and gymnastics. If we are to emancipate and re-educate the mind, we shall need a new literature, a higher and better type of education and a healthy conception of morality. If we are to rejuvenate society, we shall have to do away ruthlessly with hide-bound ideas and customs and substitute new and healthy ones instead. Further, we shall have to revalue the existing social and moral values in the light of the ideal of the age and in all probability we shall have to introduce a new scale of values which will govern the society of the future.

In striking out a new line of thought and action it is but natural that we should run up against existing ideas and vested interests and against the powers that be. But we should not be afraid of that. The progress of Youth Movement will have to be effected in the teeth of opposition and in the face of numerous obstacles. Occasions will arise when we shall be hemmed in from all sides and it will appear as if we stand by ourselves cut off from the rest of the world. In such crises we should remember the pregnant words of that great Irish Patriot who in the face of imminent danger cried out triumphantly—"One man can save Ireland, just as one man redeemed the world." As an exponent of the Youth Movement, the moment you apply the principle of freedom to every walk of life, you at once create enemies on all sides and all the vested interests affected by your propaganda may combine for the purpose of crushing you. It is easy to fight even a formidable enemy on one front, but it is difficult to fight your enemies on every front simultaneously. The rank and file of the Youth Movement should therefore be prepared to face enemies more formidable than those whom the political workers may have to encounter.

There is another difficulty which we in the Youth Movement should anticipate and against which we should be forewarned. In a political movement or in a labour movement, you will have to handle large crowds and in order to preserve your control over them you may have to play to the gallery on certain occasions. You may also have to bring yourselves down to the level of the masses on certain

occasion in order to keep up your communion with them. In the youth movement on the other hand, you will have to say, good-bye to love of popularity—if you happen to possess that feeling. On occasions you will have to take the responsibility of creating public opinion or of stemming the tide of popular feeling. If you wish to solve the fundamental problems of your national life, you will have to look miles ahead of your contemporaries. The mass mind is often unable to cut itself off from present-day moorings and visualize the future. If you propose remedies to anticipate and counteract future evils, it is not improbable that the mass mind will refuse to accept your prescription. On such an occasion you must summon courage to stand out, alone and unfriended, in the presence of the cross as it were, and fight the rest of the world. One who desires to swim with the tide of popular approbation on all occasions may become the hero of the hour—but he cannot live in history ; neither can he create history. If we aspire to become the makers of history we should be prepared for any amount of misunderstanding and for any degree of persecution. For the most unselfish action we should be prepared to get abuse and vilification ; from our closest friends we should be prepared for unwarranted hostility.

But human nature is at bottom divine. The day of misunderstanding, abuse and persecution, however long it may be, will therefore have its end. Even if we have to meet death for the sake of our sincerest convictions, we shall through death attain immortality. Let us therefore be ready for any emergency. The rose is thrice beautiful because of it's thorns and so is human life. Would not life be stale and insipid without sacrifice, suffering and persecution ?

Broadly speaking the youth movement has five aspects —viz., political, social, economic, physical and cultural. The aim of the movement is a two-fold one—to break this five-fold bondage and as a result of this emancipation to give an impetus to self-fulfilment and self-expression. The movement is therefore both destructive and creative in character. Without destruction you cannot have a new creation. That is why everywhere in nature we find destruction and creation going on side by side. If we think that destruction is bad and construction good and if we believe that construction is possible without destruction, we shall be sadly mistaken. So also shall we err if we regard destruction to be an end in itself. The growth and expansion of the freedom movement in any sphere of life means destruction—and sometimes ruthless destruction. There can be no compromise with untruth, hypocricy, bondage and inequality. We shall have to strike and to strike hard if we have to break these shackles and we should not falter or look back when our only duty is to march ahead.

If there is life within us—if we are not mere "clods of clay untroubled by a spark", destruction will unfailingly be accompanied by creative activity.

Many of the movements that we witness today in India and abroad are reformist in character. These movements touch the fringe of our life without radically transforming it. But we want not reform—but radical transformation. The whole of our life—both individual and collective—has to be recreated. In order to fulfil this rejuvenation we want a new conception of freedom to inspire us. Freedom has had a varying connotation in different ages and in different climes. In fact in our own country, as elsewhere there has been an evolution of the conception of freedom. Today, freedom has at last come to mean complete all-round emancipation. At least that is the interpretation which appeals to the youths. We can no longer be content with a half-way house. We want the fullest dose of freedom and we want it in every sphere of life. If we love freedom and love it for its own sake we cannot possibly tolerate bondage or inequality of any sort. Whether in the political, or in the economic, or in the social sphere—we must be prepared for a full application of the principle of freedom. Every human being —man or woman—is born equal and he or she shall have equal opportunities of development—that should be our dictum. This is a principle which it is easy to utter but difficult to act up to—in view of the enormous difficulties we shall have to encounter in giving effect to it.

Friends, I shall not take up time unnecessarily by referring to the detailed programme of work which should be adopted by those who desire to help the growth and expansion of the youth movement. My task is over when I have dealt with the principles, aims and objects of this movement. Our ideal is an exceedingly ambitious one—probably the most ambitious that one can conceive of. We want to transform our whole life and to create a new world and a better world for ourselves and for humanity. In order to achieve this, we must rouse all the best that is in us. It is the magic touch of freedom which alone can awaken our dormant faculties and galvanise us into ceaseless activity. How we can rouse this desire for freedom in ourselves firstly and then in our countrymen is our first and foremost problem. We must feel the strings of slavery and the pangs of bondage—if we are to cry out for freedom from the bottom of our heart. When this feeling becomes acute, we shall realise that life without freedom is not worth living and as this experience grows, a time will come when our whole soul will be consumed with the longing for liberty.

It is at this stage that we can become missionaries for preaching the gospel of freedom. As Freedom-intoxicated men and women, we should then go from door to door, from village to village and from city to city to preach the new cult of freedom. Every walk of life will feel the breath of life as a result of this propaganda. Destruction and creation will begin. The body politic, the economic order and the social order will be stirred by a new impulse and a new ideal—namely the ideal of freedom and equality. False standards, hide-bound customs and age-long restrictions will be pulled down and a new order will gradually come into existence. If we succeed in bringing into existence this new order—based on liberty and fraternity—we shall solve not merely a national problem but also a world problem.

India is an epitome of the world. India's problems are world problems in miniature. The solution of India's problems is therefore a solution of world-problems. India lives today in spite of untold suffering and misery and in spite of numerous invasions—because she has a mission to fulfil. India has to save herself because by saving herself she will save the world. India has to attain freedom because a free India will be able to make a suitable contribution to the culture and civilization of the world. The world is anxiously awaiting India's gift. Without that, the world will be all the poorer.

Friends, our responsibility is great. In every age and in every clime, youth have been the torch-bearers of liberty. We have to live up to the example of the youth abroad. What they have achieved elsewhere, certainly the youth of India can achieve here, if only we rise to the occasion. We are living in momentous times and the fate of India is in the hands of her youth. I have no doubt that the youth of this country realise the great responsibility that rests on them. I have no doubt that through their sacrifice, suffering and labour, India will before long be a free country—a country where men and women will be born free and will have equal opportunities for education and development. India shall be free—of that there is not the slightest doubt. The only question is, when she will be free. We have all been born slaves but let us all resolve to die as free men. And if we are not to see India free in our own life time let us at least die in the attempt to free India....The path to freedom is a thorny path—but is also the path to immortality. To this noble path I invite you—my sisters and brothers of the Central Provinces.

BANDE MATARAM

THE RIGHT, THE LEFT, AND RESPONSIBILITIES IN A DEMOCRATIC SYSTEM

Statement as President, All-India Trade Union Congress, 6 December 1929

A statement from me on the position in the Trade Union Congress has been overdue. I have purposely deferred issuing a statement because I wanted time to get

acquainted with all the facts. I was not present at Nagpur on the 1st December when important developments took place. I left Nagpur on the 30th November at night for Amraoti, to preside over the Provincial Studies' Conference there. Consequently, my knowledge of many of the important incidents which led to the split is second hand. On my return to Nagpur from Amraoti I heard of the sensational developments as well as the personnel of the new office-bearers. I have talked to the representatives of both the Right and Left Wings and I have read very carefully the statement of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru which is an admirable summing up of the situation in the Trade Union Congress. I am now in a position to form a clear estimate of the present position and my duty in connection with it.

In the first place, I should state most emphatically that I sincerely deplore the mutual recriminations that have gone on between the Right Wing and the Left Wing in the Trade Union Congress. With the growth of the Trade Union Movement in this country the Left Wing has come into existence and of late has been gaining in strength and importance. This is a most natural, and in my opinion, a most desirable phenomenon. I have no doubt after what I have heard from them even honest Right Wingers welcome the advent of the Left Wing in the Trade Union Congress. Some of them, for whom I have the greatest esteem, have gone so far as to say that it is inevitable that the Left Wing should come into power some day or other. I do not, therefore, see any reason why the Right Wingers should bear any hostility towards the Left.

Behind all the personal disputes and recrimination that may have appeared, there is a fundamental difference of mentality and outlook between the Right Wing and the Left. The Left Wing stands for definite principles and for a particular mentality. It should rely for public support, not on personal attack on the Right Wingers, but on the merits of their case. In fact, the Left Wingers would be able to advance the interests of their cause much more by refraining from personal attacks on the Right Wingers than by indulging in them. I emphasised the importance of this impersonal attitude in the meeting of the Executive Council of the Trade Union Congress just before the voting on the Whitley Commission took place. Apart from the undesirability of indulging in recrimination, I should state most emphatically that it is a mistake to regard a Right Winger as an agent of British Imperialism and a Left Winger as an agent of Moscow.

I am aware that the misunderstanding started when recognition was granted to the Girni Kamgar Union with a membership of 40,000. The Right Wingers left that as a result of this recognition the strength of the left wing had been considerably increased all of a sudden and they were dissatisfied. Nobody can blame the left wingers for obtaining this recognition; because, by themselves they would never have been able to carry the proposition in the Executive Council. The proposition was carried simply because several members voted for it who were definitely Right Wingers or who were non-Communist Left Wingers. It is clear that the Communist Left Wingers got help from unexpected quarters. I was not present when the voting on the Girni Kamgar Union took place; but I have been told by several non-Communist Trade Unionists who voted for the Girni Kamgar Union that they did so because that Union had been undergoing a great deal of oppression from the authorities and deserved support; and they also said that their vote did not imply that in all matters they would side with the representatives of the Girni Kamgar Union. I do not know why the Right Wing suddenly developed a defeatist mentality and withdrew from the Congress. Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru has made it perfectly clear in his statement that if the Right Wing had their supporters they could still have commanded a majority; and I know it for a fact that all the members who voted for the recognizance of the Girni Kamgar Union and for the complete boycott of the Whitley Commission did not see eye to eye with one another on such question as affiliation to the Pan-Pacific Trade Union Secretariat, and if the Right Wingers had stayed on, they would have found that many of those whom they regarded as definitely "Red" would have voted with the Right in defeating many of

the resolutions to which the latter have taken such a strong objection. Matters were made worse by the action of the Right Wingers in voting for resolutions like affiliation to the Pan-Pacific Trade Union Secretariat, to which they now say that they are conscientiously opposed. In these circumstances, the responsibility of the Right Wingers is a very serious one. If they believe in democracy they cannot object to the growing importance of the Left Wing in the Trade Union Congress, nor can they grudge the recognition granted to the Girni Kamgar Union. Further, they should take the verdict of the Executive Council of the Trade Union Congress, at which they were present, on the question of the boycott of the Whitley Commission, in a sporting spirit and abide by the decision of the majority.

The question of affiliating the Trade Union Congress to the Pan-Pacific Trade Union Secretariat has been shelved for the present. Consequently, what appears to me to be the real bone of contention no longer exists. Affiliation to the 'League Against Imperialism' cannot constitute a sufficient cause of offence to the Right Wingers because this affiliation was agreed to at the Jharia Congress last year also. On the question of participation in the International Labour Conference at Geneva, I can say definitely that there are many Right Wingers who are now opposed to it. They do not object to it on principle but they feel that the prospect of being able to travel to Europe and back at the Government expense has had a demoralising effect on certain sections in the Labour world and it would, therefore, be better for all Labour workers regardless of their complexion, if no such temptation exists. In any case, the decision of the Trade Union Congress to refrain from participation in the International Labour Conference at Geneva cannot be objected to by any section or group when it has been passed by a majority. I would say the same thing also regarding the resolutions on the Nehru Report, the Viceregal Pronouncement and the Pan-Asiatic Labour Conference.

In conclusion, I decide to address a sincere and earnest appeal to all friends and comrades belonging to the

Right Wing to reconsider their present attitude. After all that has happened, they would be incurring a very great responsibility if they decide to secede from the parent body. Such an action would, in my humble opinion, be unsportsman-like, undemocratic and unpatriotic. Inspite of all that has appeared in the public 'Press', I feel confident that there will be no split in the Trade Union Congress. Even if the Right Wingers doubt whether they are in a majority today, there is no doubt that they are a strong and effective minority and if they believe that the principles for which they stand are right, it is upto them to try and convert this minority into a majority by the time the next Congress meets. The Left Wing worked within the Trade Union Congress even when they formed an insignificant minority and I see no reason why the Right wing should go out of the Congress if and when they are reduced to a minority. I have tried to consider the situation most dispassionately and I have come to the conclusion that no sufficient reason exists which could account for a split. The statement recently issued by Dewan Chamanlal is no doubt unfortunate; but I would appeal to him also to reconsider what he has said and advised. As matters stand, today, if the policy of secession is persisted in, it cannot help raising the suspicion that it is after all the boycott of the Whitley Commission which has irritated and antagonised the Right wingers, as a section of them. A split over the question of Whitley Commission is not only uncalled for, but is also unpolitic from the Right Winger's point of view.

I have decided to accept the responsibility which the Trade Union Congress has chosen to confer on me by electing me as the President for the coming year. I feel that I would be failing in my duty if I shirk the responsibility at a time when the Congress is faced with a serious crisis. I have friends in both the wings in the Congress and from what I have been able to ascertain I have no doubt that I can count on their sympathy, co-operation and confidence. If I feel the necessity, I intend calling a conference of both the Wings sometimes this month in order to smooth the differences and prepare for joint action.

MY ATTITUDE TOWARDS STUDENTS AND THEIR MOVEMENTS

Statement issued on 11 December, 1919

My attention was drawn sometime ago to a pamphlet issued by Sj. Birendra Nath Das Gupta containing personal attacks on me, which was distributed among the members of the BPCC at the time of the annual meeting of the Bengal Provincial Congress Committee, about the middle of November last. I was approached over and over again by several student-friends with the request that I should issue a reply to some of the incorrect statements made in the pamphlet. I have, however, refrained from doing so up till now for two reasons. In the first place, though I am accustomed to taking part in political controversies it appeared rather unbecoming on my part to engage in a controversy with one who is considerably junior to me and whom I look upon as a younger brother. In the second place, I felt that if I had to issue a statement I would have to criticise other young friends for whom I have always cherished affection in spite of what they might have been saying or doing against me of late at the instance of other interested persons. But I am told that my silence is being misconstrued in certain quarters and that I should say something for the benefit of that large section of the student community who do not ordinarily come into contact with me.

I feel rather amused when I find members of the public, some of whom claim to be leaders, suddenly developing affection and solicitude for the Student Community and sermonising others as to their duty towards the Students' Movement. Since the inception of the Students' Movement towards the beginning of 1928 up to the present day, these new friends of the Students' Movement have hardly taken any interest at all in this movement and have done little to help it out of its infancy. I was one of the few public men in this province who have done their best to help this movement and even those who are at present engaged in attacking me, are not unaware of this fact. The reason why I have tried to help this movement and shall always do so in future to the best of my ability is obvious. In the first place, ever since my release from internment I have at all times been laying considerable stress on the youth and students' movement in this country, because I am convinced that the future of this country is in the hands of our students and young men. In the second place, when I was a student, I and some of my fellow students—including my seniors as well as juniors—had to suffer some persecution at the hands of the authorities and in those days, with the exception of the late Babu Motilal Ghosh and Deshbandhu C.R. Das, few public men came forward to give us their support and protection. Consequently, I have a first hand knowledge of the humiliation and persecution which sometimes befall the lot of students in our country. Lastly, the superior status which students in England enjoy in the eye of the public as well as of the Government as compared with their inferior status in this country, has left an abiding impression on my mind; and I feel it to be my duty to help students to attain a higher status and position in our country. For these reasons, I can appreciate very keenly the insults and humiliation which students in India are subjected to from to time and it is my firm resolve that I should come to their aid whenever I am approached for that purpose. I might have been as unsympathetic as indifferent to the students' cause, as some other public men to-day are, if I had not gone through the above experience in my life.

I confess that I have been deeply pained at the tactics employed by some students of late. They know full well what I have done for the students' cause in the past and what feelings I have always cherished towards them as individuals. It is a well-known fact in Bengal that I have incurred the wrath and displeasure of the authorities as well as of some anti-nationalist papers for befriending the students on several occasions. It, therefore, amuses me to find that these papers are making the most of the present situation by evincing great solicitude for the Students' Movement and attacking me as an enemy of that movement.

If these papers have really been converted to a belief in the efficacy and potentiality of the Students' Movement after attacking it in season and out of season for such a long time, it is really a happy day for me.

I do not entirely condemn those students who are at present attacking me because I feel that they do not know what they are doing. For the present they are like pawns in the hands of interested politicians but the day is not far off when they will realise their mistake. In the meantime I would like to assure them that I continue to cherish the same feeling of affection towards them as I ever did. The feelings that I have cherished for them cannot be changed overnight, even if they commit mistakes or try to do harm to me.

It is not possible for me to know all the criticisms that are being hurled at me behind my back by interested persons—consequently I cannot reply to all of them. But I would like the larger body of students who have nothing to do with any political intrigue to judge me by my past career and the attitude. I have consistently maintained towards the Student Community. And if that is not enough, I would like them to wait and see who proves to be a genuine friend of the students in the future that awaits us.

The pamphlet to which I have referred above contains several misstatements which it is necessary to refute. The writer says that at a private conference I contended that the sole aim of the Students' Association was political. I have never said any such thing in private or in public. My views on the Students' Movement are well-known to the public and I have always advocated an independent movement run by the students quite distinct from the political movement run by the Indian National Congress. Regarding the duty of the students in 1930, I repeat what I said a few months ago at the Howrah Political Conference viz., that if the situation demands the sacrifice, students should be prepared to suspend their studies at the call of the Nation, as students in other countries have done, but this time not for an indefinite period but for a limited period only, say one year. I should state in this connection that I do not remember having any talk with the writer of the pamphlet during the last few months regarding the aims of the Students' Association and the duty of the students in 1930.

The pamphlet goes on to say that the activities of the A.B.S.A. regarding the reform of the University Examination system and other student welfare schemes were ridiculed by some of my lieutenants. I do not know what is meant by "my lieutenants", but so far as I am concerned I am not aware of any such activities of the A.B.S.A. and have, therefore, had no occasion to form any opinion regarding them.

Regarding the presidentship of the Mymensingh Conference the real fact is that at my instance and in my room I made both the parties (viz. the representatives of the A.B.S.A. and of the Reception Committee of the Conference) agree to electing Dr. Alam as president. I would challenge any body to contradict this statement and I make bold to say that without my intervention, the Mymensingh Conference would not have met under the presidentship of Dr. Alam and but for Dr. Alam the Conference would not have been successful. Dr. Alam was kind enough to be my guest during his stay in Calcutta and in order to make the most of his presence, I appealed to my friends in Mymensingh to do everything to make the Conference a success—and as subsequent events should, the appeal had its effect. I also took the students to task for not bringing the dispute to my notice earlier for in that case I would have been able to ease the whole situation from the start as I did in 1928 when on behalf of the students I requested Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru to accept the Presidentship.

According to the Constitution of the A.B.S.A., the district associations are to make suggestions for the presidentship and the Reception Committee, after receiving the suggestions, are to elect a panel of Chairman. Consequently, the Reception Committee were well within their rights if they elected whomsoever they chose. The whole trouble arose because some of the members of the General Executive wanted a member of their political group to be the President and they were using Dr. Alam's name as a sort of a screen. This gentleman the prospective candidate, had nothing to do with the students' movement at any time and had long ceased to be a student and the only object of thrusting him on the Conference was to score a party triumph by bringing a party man into prominence. To insinuate that I, who am so intimately connected with the Students' movement and am in the habit of lecturing at and presiding over so many students' gatherings and Conferences in Bengal and outside and presiding over so many other important Conferences during the year, had a desire to preside over the Students' Conference at Mymensingh—is an allegation which will not deceive even my worst enemies. I admire the skill and cunning of the young writer in thus turning the tables on me though I deplore his lack of morality at this early age.

The real reason why some of the members of the A.B.S.A., opposed the action of the Reception Committee was their desire to elect their own man in future for whose election they had worked hard for several months. Their solicitude for Dr. Alam was an after thought, meant simply to cover their defeat. There was no objection to Dr. Alam's candidature on the part of those who were opposed to the A.B.S.A. Executive and when I advocated his name, the Reception Committee readily agreed.

I think that I should at this stage state frankly what is the root cause of the trouble among the students today. The dispute among the students is simply the effect of the dispute among the political groups in the B.P.C.C. Ever since my release from internment, I have always been advocating unity of action and closing up of the ranks among the different groups of Congressmen. For some time excellent results were obtained and most of the groups joined with one another in working out a common programme. Of late dissensions have appeared among them and one of the parties has broken away from the others. Since the majority have approved of and supported my principles, policy, and programme, the dissenting party has joined the minority group i.e., the opposition party in the Bengal Provincial Congress Committee, and is at present working with them and against me. The members of the A.B.S.A., who are now engaged in a campaign against me are under the influence of this particular group in the B.P.C.C. They are being exploited by this political group against their own interests and against the interests of the student community. I cannot help feeling sorry for them because I still cherish feelings of affection towards them as I did in the past. If the dissension in the B.P.C.C. disappear today, the dissensions among the students will, I believe, disappear the next day. This political group, as I have said above, wanted one of their members to preside over the Students' Conference and some of the members of the A.B.S.A. began to intrigue for the purpose of getting his candidature adopted. For this purpose agents were sent out to many districts and in some cases only those associations were given recognition which would accept the domination of this political group in the A.B.S.A. in preference to others who wanted to maintain their independence. The agents of the political group went to the length of acting in a high-handed and arbitrary manner for the purpose of imposing their will on the rest of the students. These tactics produced a reaction and gave rise to wide-spread discontent among the students of Bengal. This indignation manifested itself at the Mymensingh Conference. I have it on the authority or Dr. Alam that though through his tact and sympathy the vote of censure was not moved at the Conference, there was no doubt that the vast majority of the delegates were against the Executive of the A.B.S.A. He therefore, advised the Executive to come to a compromise with the delegates. They have not done so yet, as far as I am aware.

I am astounded to read that I have tried to exploit the students or any section of them. I have fostered the growth of the Students' Movement from its infancy for reasons mentioned above and those who are now against me owing to the inspiration of a political group should know more than any body else what services I have rendered to the students' cause. Many of those who are now against me for reasons of their own, are the people who are really trying to exploit the students without having helping the Students' Movement in any way since its birth.

With regard to the dispute between the Reception Committee and the Executive of the A.B.S.A., I desire to say that I went through the correspondence as well as the constitution of the A.B.S.A., and I find that from the constitutional point of view, the Reception Committee were in the right. There are a number of uncomplimentary remarks against Sj. Surendra Mohan Ghosh and Nalini Ranjan Sarkar in the pamphlet and some statements have been attributed to them, which are manifestly absurd. Both these gentlemen are strong enough to take care of themselves. I shall only say this that the fact that these gentlemen have been dragged in along with me in a pamphlet issued by the Secretary of the ABSA, is an additional proof that the object of this pamphlet is entirely a political one and that there are political personages behind these tactics. I would also like to state here that Dr. Alam told me when he was in Calcutta that at Mymensingh some of the important members of the Executive of the A.B.S.A., had told him that they were prepared to resign if that was the general desire, but Dr. Alam did not want the papers to publish this fact then, because that was a private conversation. I am stating this fact now for the knowledge of the public because the writer of the pamphlet has challenged the statement.

In conclusion, I desire to express my deep regret that some members of the Central Executive of the A.B.S.A., should have fallen prey to the machinations of a political group who are at present opposing me in the B.P.C.C. I am strong enough to look after myself and the harm that they can do me is negligible, while the harm that they can do and are doing to the Students' Movement is incalculable. It is more than a mere accident that this pamphlet issued by Sj. Birendranath Das Gupta was first distributed among the members of the B.P.C.C. at Sealdah Station on their arrival in Calcutta and in front of the B.P.C.C. office at the time of the annual election of that body. Thousands and thousands of these pamphlets have been printed and distributed in different places and one is not unaware of those who are doing the wire-pulling and providing the sinews of war. There is hardly any attack on any student or group of students in the whole of the pamphlet ; and all the criticisms have been reserved for workers like myself. I am accustomed to these tactics in the political arena but it gives me great pain to find that some of our promising students at the instigations of ex-students and outsiders and politicians have so far forgotten themselves and their movement as to resort to these shady tactics. But I have every hope that they will soon discover their mistake and find out of themselves who is their friend and who is their foe. In the meantime I can assure them that my attitude and my feelings towards students and their movements continue to be the same as ever.

THE NEED FOR RADICAL TRANSFORMATION IN FREEDOM'S CAUSE

Presidential address at the C.P. and Berar Students' Conference delivered on 1 December, 1929, at Amraoti.

It is a very great pleasure to me to be able to participate in this conference of the students of the Central Provinces and Berar. In fact, it is not merely a very great pleasure—but also a very great privilege to be able to join a conference of students of this character. I say this deliberately and without the slightest exaggeration because in a Students' Conference, I feel I am in my element as it were. Though nearly a decade has rolled by since I left the portals of the University, I do not today regard myself as anything more than a mere student—and a very meek student—of another University which may be somewhat larger than that to which you now belong—I mean the University of life. And though I am at present engaged in learning my lessons in the school of life, I believe I have sufficient imagination left in me to be able to appreciate your difficulties and your problems—your joys and your sorrows—your hopes and your aspirations.

Nevertheless, I have my doubts as to whether I am really competent to preside over a conference of students —for, judged from the point of view of "good conduct", my University career is not without a stain. I still remember very clearly the day when my Principal summoned me to his presence and announced his order of suspension and his words still ring in my ears—"You are the most troublesome man in the College." That was indeed a red-letter day for me—in many respects a turning point in my life's career. It was the first occasion in my life when I had a taste of the joy derived from suffering for a cause —a joy, in comparison with which the other joys of life pale and fade into insignificance. It was also the first occasion in my life when my theoretical morality and theoretical patriotism were put to a test and a very severe test—and when I came out of the ordeal unscathed, my future career had been chalked out once for all.

Friends, you must be thinking that I am a queer fellow to start an address by talking about myself. But do you not think that I am here, not for the purpose of inflicting a sermon on morality and patriotism, but for giving you what advice I may have to offer in the light of my own experience ? And is it not a fact that after all only that lesson has value which has been learnt through experience and through suffering ?

India today is in the midst of a ferment. Numerous currents and undercurrents of ideas are at work—and various movements, some of them reformist in character and others radical, are busy transforming her life. In the midst of this confusion it is not always easy to look ahead and determine the future lines of progress. But they alone can do this who are young, who are imbued with idealism, who have the historic consciousness and who can attune their spirit to that of the nation. It will take more than one discourse if I were to analyse the different movements that are visible today and give my own opinion as to their respective values. I shall not therefore attempt that. But one thing I would like to say most definitely, namely that if we are to rejuvenate India and make an A 1 nation of her—we shall have to alter our erstwhile notions of good and bad. To put it in philosophical language, we shall have to revalue our existing social and moral values.

Even the most casual observer cannot fail to notice that many of the present day movements are superficial in character—they touch only the fringe of our social and national life, without stirring the inner life of the people. These movements, while they are not altogether useless, cannot achieve much in bringing about a national awakening. What we want most of all is an awakening from within. The soul of the nation has to be stirred to its depths—and how we can do this in the shortest possible time—is our chief problem. Ours is an ancient land; our civilization, though it has not lost its dynamic character, is an ancient one, as a people we have gone through innumerable vicissitudes in our career and we have braved several onslaughts which at times threatened to overwhelm us. It is not surprising, therefore, if we are occasionally overcome with fatigue, lassitude and lethargy, for even in nature's economy rest and sleep are necessary at times in order to preserve life. But even if we have become lethargic, we are not dead as a nation. The test of life is originally of thought and creative activity and of these symptoms we, as a nation and as individuals, can still boast. If we had not been alive, all hopes of a national awakening would have been altogether futile. But since we are alive and we still possess all the resources which go to make an A 1 nation, we can dream of a glorious future.

What we want, therefore, is an awakening from within, which will bring about a radical transformation of our life. Tinkering reform will not do—superficial remedies will be of no avail. What is wanted is a transfiguration of our whole life—a complete revolution, if you will. Do not fight shy of the word 'revolution'. We may differ in our conception of 'revolution', but I have yet to see a living human being who does not believe in revolution. There is no inherent difference between "evolution" and "revolution". Revolution is evolution compressed into a shorter period; evolution is revolution spread out over a longer period. Both evolution and revolution imply changes and progress and in nature there is room for both. In fact, nature cannot do without either.

I have said that we shall have to alter many of our notions of good and bad. I have also said that we want a radical transformation of our whole life. This is necessary if we are to become great as a nation and occupy a seat of honour among the foremost nations of the world. Life has meaning, worth and significant only if it is lived for the sake of an ideal. A nation need not live, in fact it has no right to live—if it does not want to progress and should it achieve greatness merely to fulfil a selfish notional purpose; it should aspire to become great in order to make humanity great—so that the world may become ultimately a better and a happier place to dwell in.

India possesses all the resources—intellectual, moral and material, which go to make a people great. And India is still living, in spite of her hoary antiquity, because she has to become great once again—because she has a mission to perform. India's mission is firstly to save herself and thereafter to make her contribution to the sum-total of the culture and civilization of the world. In spite of half-a-hundred handicaps, India's contribution today is by no means a small one. Just imagine for a moment what her contribution would be, if she were free to develop her life according to her own genius.

I am sure that our people can achieve wonders if only we could be roused to ceaseless activity. I am also sure that once we are thoroughly roused, we shall be able to outrun even the progressive nations of today "the hustlers from the West". All that we want is a magic wand by waving which our whole life could be galvanised. The French philosopher, Bergson, has talked of the "elan vital"—the vital impetus—which moves the whole world to activity and progress. What is the "elan vital" of our national life? It is the desire for freedom, for expansion, for self-expression. The counterpart of this desire is revolt against bondage. If you want to be free, you must revolt against the bondage that surrounds you—and if you revolt against bondage and revolt successfully, you are bound to win your freedom.

Except those whose moral sense is altogether dead, every human being is bound to feel, more or less, the pangs of slavery and the humiliation of servitude. When this feeling becomes acute, slavery and bondage become intolerable and there develops a strong desire to throw off the yoke of servitude. This desire is further heightened by a taste of the joy of freedom, either through personal experience of free countries or through study and imagination of the happy conditions that result from freedom. The psychological aspect of "tapasya" in the cause of our country's salvation consists in making our mind more and more sensitive to national humiliation and racial discrimination and in intensifying our desire for freedom. This can be effected by study of history, observation of our present day degradation, contemplation of the ideal of life and above all by comparing conditions prevailing under the regime of servitude with those prevailing under the reign of freedom.

Baptism, initiation, "deeksha" etc., have to me but one meaning—viz., consecration of our life at the alter of freedom. Complete self-consecration will not be possible in a day. But as we become more and more imbued with the desire for freedom we shall get a taste of joy unspeakable and we shall realise more and more that life has a meaning and a purpose. A revolution will set in—our thoughts, feelings and aspirations will undergo a transformation. Only one thing in life will have value for us—viz., freedom; and our inner life will be so metamorphosed or recreated as to conform to that ideal. The experience of this gradual transformation is almost indescribable. When this transformation is complete, we shall be reborn; we shall be "dwijas" in the real sense of the term. Thereafter we shall think, feel and even dream only of freedom and all our activity will be permeated with but one desire—the desire to attain freedom. In a word we shall become freedom-intoxicated human beings who live, move and have their being only in freedom.

Once the desire for freedom is enkindled in our hearts, it will need an adequate instrument in order to fulfil itself. For this purpose all our faculties physical, intellectual and moral will have to be requisitioned. We shall have to unlearn much of what we have learnt and learn for the first time what we never were taught. The body and the mind will have to undergo a new course of training and discipline in order to be fit for the task of achieving freedom. The external aspect of our life will also change. Luxury, ease and comfort will have to be abandoned, new modes of life will have to be adopted and old habits shunned. Thus will our whole life become a purified instrument for the purpose of attaining freedom.

Man is after all a social being. His self-fulfilment is not possible if he is cut off from the rest of society. The individual depends much for his growth and development on society, as society does on the individual. Further, the progress of the individual does not possess much value if it does not carry with it the progress of society as a whole. An ideal which is accepted by an individual recluse but is rejected by society and is not therefore embodied in our corporate life—has not much worth. If freedom is to be the cardinal principle of our life—the "elan vital" of all our activity—it should also be made the basis of social reconstruction. It will be seen at once that if the principle of freedom is to be applied to society and made the fundamental basis of the society of the future—it will mean nothing short of social revolution. Freedom for the whole of society will mean freedom for woman as well as for man—freedom for the depressed classes and not merely for the higher caste—freedom for the poor and not merely for the rich—freedom for the young and not merely for the old—in other words, freedom for all sections, for all minorities and for all individuals. Thus freedom implies equality and equality connotes fraternity. To free society, therefore, women will have to be given an equal status with man, in law as well as in social matters; the social barriers which put the brand of inferiority on certain sections or castes owing to their birth, will have to be ruthlessly demolished; the inequalities of wealth which stand in the way of social advancement will have to be removed and equal opportunities for education and development will have to be given to all; youth must no longer be considered a crime and young men and young women will have to be given the responsibility of reconstructing society and of carrying on the administration. In society, in the body politic and in the economic world, each individual should be as free as any other and should enjoy the same status. Equal opportunities for all, equitable distribution of wealth, abolition of all social barriers, including caste and emancipation from foreign rule—these should be some of the basic principles of the new Society we want to build.

Friends, I do not know if you will consider me to be Utopian in my theories or if you will dub me a visionary. But I shall plead guilty if I am accused of being a dreamer and I love my dreams. These dreams are to me as real as the work-a-day world is to the man in the street. From my dreams I derive inspiration and motive power. Without these dreams I can hardly live for life will lose its meaning and it's charm. The dream that I love is that of a free India—India resplendent in all her power and glory. I want India to be the mistress of her own household and the queen of her own destiny—I want her to be a free republic with her own army, navy, and air-force and her own ambassadors in the capitals of free countries. I want her to stand out before the world as a perfect synthesis of all that is good in the East and in the West. I want her to go out to the world with a new gospel of freedom, the gospel of full, all-round emancipation.

Students of today, you are the makers of the future, you are going to be the heirs of a free India. I invite you to share some of my dreams and aspirations. There is nothing else that I have to offer you. Will you accept my offering? You must be full of the noblest idealism. Lofty ideals cannot but appeal to you—the loftier they are, the more will they inspire you and rouse the best that is lying dormant in you. Therefore arise, wake up. Your student career is not merely an apprenticeship for a vocation in life. It is a preparation for something higher and nobler than earning one's bread and butter. Man does not live by bread alone. I have held before you a vision of the future that awaits you. That is the future in which you will have to play some part—in fact, that is the future you will have to make, through your sacrifice, suffering and labour. Your body and your mind will have to be so trained as to be a proper vehicle for your future life. Your inner life as well as your external modes and habits will have to conform to a life of service and suffering. Your education and your culture will have to be directed towards the goal that is before you. The life that I have suggested for you may be full of suffering, but believe me, it is full of joy. The path to which I have invited you may be a thorny one but is it not a path leading to glory imperishable? Therefore come, let us form a happy band and march shoulder to shoulder along this noble path. We shall then justify our human life and through darkness and through sorrow, through pain and through suffering, we shall ultimately reach the supreme goal of life—bliss and immortality.

BANDE MATARAM

BENGAL CONGRESS ELECTION DISPUTE

Statement by Pandit Motilal Nehru at Allahabad, 17 December 1929

At the last meeting of the Working Committee held in Allahabad, I was appointed to arbitrate in the Bengal election dispute. I agreed to perform this unpleasant duty on the distinct understanding that it was not possible for me, having regard to my pre-occupations, to hold a local enquiry.....Some members of Working Committee suggested the appointment of Dr. Pattabhi Sitaramayya, who was present, as Commissioner to take evidence. The Doctor was unwilling to accept and soon after left the meeting. In his absence the question as to who among the members of the Working Committee could conveniently undertake to execute such a commission was discussed in the presence of Messrs. Subhas Chandra Bose and J.M. Sen

Gupta,..It was, therefore, finally agreed that Dr. Pattabhi Sitaramayya be again asked to undertake the Commission. Messrs. Sen Gupta and Subhas Chandra Bose left for Calcutta after this understanding was arrived at....I succeeded in persuading him (Dr. Pattabhi Sitaramayya) to agree. I accordingly wired to Messrs. Sen Gupta and Subhas Chandra Bose that I had appointed Dr. Pattabhi Sitaramayya to make the enquiry on my behalf.

....I direct in anticipation of confirmation by the Working Committee that A.I.C.C. members from Bengal elected last year do continue to hold office till the present dispute is finally decided.

....I now turn to the objections raised by Messrs. J. C. Gupta and S. K. Mitra. Their chief complaint in that, while they produced all their evidence before the Commissioner, the other party, by its dilatory tactics, had succeeded in avoiding a speedy decision of the dispute.... Messrs. Gupta and Mitra, however, contended that there was time to give the B.P.C.C., another opportunity to lay their case before me and pressed me to summon their representatives at an early date....the B.P.C.C. under its constitution has nothing to do with the election of delegates beyond filling the vacancies. The delegates will be elected by the District Committees....The result is that I postpone the enquiry....

Statement by Subhas Chandra Bose

I have been surprised and pained at the statement of Pandit Motilal Nehru, President of the All India Congress Committee. I am afraid I have to contradict some remarks made in his statement lest a wrong impression be created in the minds of the public if I remain silent.

At the meeting of the Working Committee at Allahabad one by one several names were suggested as to who should undertake the task of enquiring into and settling the Bengal dispute. When Dr. Pattabhi's name was suggested, the doctor himself, declined saying that some outstanding personality should undertake the responsibility of enquiring into and settling such an important matter

as the Bengal dispute. Thereupon his name was dropped and we passed on to discuss other names. We discussed the name of Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya, among others, but we were informed that Pandit Malaviya had left Allahabad. Ultimately we agreed that the President himself should undertake the responsibility.

The question of appointing a Commissioner was never discussed at Allahabad. We all left Allahabad after we were assured that the President of the A.I.C.C., was going to take up the matter himself. I was surprised when I received Panditji's telegram after my arrival in Calcutta informing me that Dr. Pattabhi was coming to enquire into the dispute. From the telegram I did not understand clearly what powers had been delegated to Dr. Pattabhi. I immediately wired to Panditji expressing my surprise at Dr. Pattabhi's appointment, but Panditji assured me in reply that the final decision rested in his hands and Dr. Pattabhi was being sent as Commissioner simply for making an enquiry and taking evidence. In the name of all that I hold sacred I am stating that I never was a party to the appointment of Dr. Pattabhi as Commissioner and I learnt about his appointment for the first time when I received Panditji's telegram in Calcutta. Pandit Motilal Nehru himself admits in his statement that I wired to him expressing my surprise immediately after I got his wire intimating us about the appointment of Dr. Pattabhi. Why should I have expressed surprise if I had been a consenting party to the appointment?

I am extremely sorry that the President of the A.I.C.C., has chosen to make other remarks in his statement after hearing the "ex-parte" statement of Messrs Jogesh Gupta and Santosh Mitra and considering the "ex-parte" report of Dr. Pattabhi. We had no opportunity of making our submission before him before he issued the statement in spite of the fact that we had requested him to give us a hearing before he gave his verdict! I am sure that if Panditji had given us a hearing as he gave Messrs. Gupta and Mitra—a hearing before making up his stand, this statement would not have been issued at all or it would have been issued in quite a different form. After wiring to us from Lucknow that he had postponed the enquiry till February, what occasion was there for him to consider the "ex-parte" report of Dr. Pattabhi and the "ex-parte" statements of our opponents Messrs. Gupta and Mitra in our absence ?

I was also surprised at the direction of the President of the A.I.C.C., to the effect that the old members of the A.I.C.C., from Bengal were to function till the dispute was settled. I have received vehement protest from several newly-elected members of the A.I.C.C. The C.P. (Marathi) precedent bears no analogy to the situation in Bengal, because as Panditji has admitted in his statement, there was an absence of election in C.P. (Marathi) ; whereas in Bengal the A.I.C.C. elections have been held in accordance with the rules of B.P.C.C. Panditji will perhaps remember that he wired to me saying that the B.P.C.C. could not be stopped from functioning so long as it was not superseded. The B.P.C.C. in the legitimate exercise of its functions has elected members to the A.I.C.C. How are these members going to be prevented from functioning ?

I have much to say with regard to the present dispute but I shall do so at a later stage. I shall only state here that it is not a fact that Dr. Pattabhi made an attempt at an amicable settlement before he started the enquiry and I do not know who gave Panditji this information. Neither do I know who gave Messrs. Jogesh Gupta and Santosh Mitra the authority to speak in the name and on behalf of 20 districts in Bengal. We have so far received the list of elected delegates from practically all the districts in Bengal. And though distance may prevent many delegates from going to Lahore, Bengal will nevertheless be fairly represented at the Lahore Congress.

CAMPAIGN AGAINST ESTABLISHMENT OF UNION BOARD

Statement issued at the Bengal Provincial Congress Committee, 20 December 1929

The public are aware that a campaign against the establishment of Union Boards in Bandabilla Union in the district of Jessore has been going on for about six months. The campaign was first initiated by the Bandabilla Congress Committee and the Secretary of that Committee Sj. Bijoy Chandra Roy took the lead in the matter. When the District Political Conference was held at Jessore in July last, the situation at Bandabilla was discussed and the Congress appointed a committee of enquiry to go into the matter. Since then the prominent leaders of Jessore have interested themselves in the movement.

We were requested by the Jessore Congress Committee and also by the local Congress Committee of Bandabilla to take charge of the campaign. Thereupon the B.P.C.C. appointed a committee to enquire into the situation and report. The committee inspected the locality and reported in favour of the B.P.C.C. taking up the campaign. Thereafter, I visited Jessore and Bandabilla and was also impressed with the desirability of our taking up the campaign. The Executive Council of the B.P.C.C. met this evening (Dec 20) and after considering the above facts as well as the circumstances prevailing at Bandabilla and Jessore decided to take charge of the campaign. A representative committee has also been appointed for the purpose.

Under the Bengal Village Self-Government Act of 1919, the Government can establish Union Boards in any district or part of a district according to their will and pleasure. In the past Union Boards have been withdrawn from certain areas in Bengal where the people have opposed their formation. There are various reasons why the people are opposed to the formation of Union Boards, but chief among them is the enhanced taxation which has followed the establishment of Union Boards in Jessore district. In Bandabilla Union the people have refused to pay the Union Board taxes and a no-tax campaign is in full swing. The Government have initiated a policy of severe repression and many villagers including some of our important workers are being prosecuted. The movable property of all those who have resorted to non-payment is being attached and sometimes stealthily auctioned. Valuable cattle worth forty, fifty, and sixty rupees are being sold for paltry sums of money. Nevertheless the villagers are undaunted and are determined to continue the campaign to a successful finish.

I earnestly appeal to the public and to all parties to sink all differences and contribute to the success of this campaign.

THE OBJECTIVE OF THE YOUTH MOVEMENT

Speech at Midnapore Youth Conference, 21 December 1929

To-day you have organised the Midnapore Youth Conference and invited me to occcpy the presidential chair. I too have gladly accepted the invitation. But when you were organising this Conference did it ever occur to you why a youth conference instead of a political conference should be called? There is no dearth, at home or abroad, of institutions and movements. Why, then, has the youth movement organised? The reason is not far to seek. The young men of all countries are getting impatient and discontented. What they want they do not get. They do not find their cherished ideal immanent in the realities of life. Therefore they are in revolt and are determined to sweep away all men and systems that stand in their way.

Many are to-day engaged in the work of organising youth associations. But few understand the ideal, object and programme of the youth movement. It will not do to regard the youth associations as a replica of the social league. The youth associations are not again Congress Committees bearing a different name and label. In fact, the youth movement is quite a different movement having

its own ideal and programme. Therefore those who failing to play the role of leadership in the Congress assume that role in relation to the youth movement can be of no service to it.

I am drawing your attention to one point. Look from one corner of Bengal to another and see how many sincere workers there are in this movement. I once more affirm at the outset that the Youth Association is not an adjunct to the Congress or to the Social Service League. The object of the youth movement is to search for the new; to establish a new society, a new state and a new political philosophy; to inspire men with a new and nobler ideal and lead them on to a higher place. He who cherishes this burning desire for achieving a new and nobler life cannot but revolt against the present order of things.

Man wants to know the object of his life, why he lives and wherein lies his self-fulfilment. Unless he gets a satisfactory answer to this question life grows into a burden unto him and his faculties remain dormant. Every one cannot provide a clue to this question. How can a man who has not been able to find an answer to this question for himself be of help to others? Dreams whereas are cherished by many. Our departed leader Deshbandhu Chittaranjan Das too had had a dream. That dream was the fountain of all his energy and joy. We are the inheritors of that dream. All our activities are moulded by that dream. What is that dream or ideal? What I want is a society on the basis of all-round freedom and free state. I want a society in which the individual will not be pressed down by heavy injunctions, a society in which cast system will find no place, a society in which the woman will be free and will enjoy equal rights with man and take upon her all civic and political responsibilities, a society rid of all inequalities of wealth and in which everyone will get equal opportunities for education and development. I want a state rid of all foreign domination, a state which will work in union with our society. Above all, I want a society and a state which will not only remove all the needs of the Indian people, but serve as a model to the world at large. I dream of this Society and State. My young friends, I have nothing to impart to you except this dream, which has supplied me with unlimited energy and joy and in which my life has obtained its self-fulfilment. I present you with this dream.

The new Society will have to be built on the basis of equality. The caste system will have to be blown away. The woman will have to be freed from all shackles and endowed with rights and responsibilities equal to man. The inequalities of wealth will have to be swept away, and everyone irrespective of creed, caste or colour will have to be given equal opportunities for education and self-realisation.

In short, we want complete independence for India. Those who will be born in this free India will be respected as men in the Comity of nations. In philosophy and science, in religion and action, in education and culture India will again rise superior to all other nations. We need not further dilate upon our duties. We are the creators of the New India. Let us all join our hands for the performance of this sacred and stupendous task.

PARALLEL GOVERNMENT AND TOTAL BOYCOTT

Counter Resolution at a Subjects Committee meeting on 31 December 1929

I express my thanks and gratitude to Mahatma Gandhi for coming forward with the resolution declaring complete Independence. But I stand before you because I feel that this programme is not such programme as would carry us to the goal of complete independence. My amendment is a complete, whole and workable programme. My programme has two distinct parts, constructive as well as destructive. I cannot see how we can reach our goal except by setting up a parallel Government based on the good will of the people. The example of the Sinn Feiners of Ireland is a craze in point. It is not that I want the people to emulate Ireland in their campaign. But it is to show that

the scheme of a parallel government is only a scheme to achieve the object.

I believe if we make the programme virile and fighting we shall succeed in bringing many who are still standing outside. I mean the kishans, workers and youngmen. These sections have economic or social grievances against the Congress and hence they kept out because the Congress ought to remove the grievances, social and economical and be not content with the political ones only. We ought to bring them into our fold and harness their energies and resources. Unless the Congress is able to identify itself with the cause of the oppressed classes, I cannot see how the congress can push forward its political programme.

If boycott is to be made useful, intelligible and effective, a wholesale boycott programme will have to be taken up before we achieve our object. I cannot see the utility of partial boycott. To practise in courts is consistent with the creed of Independence and so is the taking of the oath of allegiance when entering bodies like the Calcutta Corporation. We have to concentrate all our energies to the work and achieve Independence. All or none is my principle. Therefore, if boycott is to be restored it must be complete or there is no good in entering the courts and the local bodies and boycotting the councils. In politics some times it is necessary to bow down to exigencies of circumstances as the Sinn Feiners did and entered parliament after taking the oath of allegiance. And so was the case of the Communists sitting there. From a practical point of view I believe, it is not inconsistent to go to the local bodies with the creed of independence. But I want to say that I am of opinion that complete boycott is essential at this stage.

Before I conclude I wish to say a few words with regard to the resolution of Mahatma Gandhi as it is moved. I want to say that I did not subscribe to the Delhi Manifesto and I do not want any body to endorse it standing as we do to-day on the 31st day of December. Are you prepared to endorse the Delhi Manifsto? Would you like to go in for the appreciation of the Viceroy of India? The

Round Table Conference is a sham. Can you conscientiously approve of the preamble ? Mahatma Gandhi was kind enough to give an assurance in the Subjects Committee that so far as he was concerned there was no intention of his going into the Conference. It is now for the House to consider whether it is necessary to retain this clause.

Let me now refer to the phrase, the Round Table Conference. I do not know why our countrymen are keen on calling it Round Table Conference. Certainly it is not "Round Table". To my mind it is a Square Table Conference. The Round Table Conference is a Conference between the belligerent forces fighting one another through plenipotentiaries and the decision arrived in the Conference are binding on both. I ask you—are you prepared to believe that the people of India will be allowed to send in their own representatives to negotiate with the British Government on equal terms ? Are you sure that the conclusions arrived at the Conference will be ratified by Parliament ? You all know that when treaties are drawn up and even when it was arrived at between South Africa and the British Government the conclusion arrived at the conference are regarded as sacred by both the parties. I know in case of South Africa the constitution drawn up in the Conference, inspite of a grammatical error, was ratified in Parliament. The British statesmen could not even correct the grammatical errors. This is truly a Round Table Conference. But, what are the paraphernalia here ? I hear that the Ruling Chiefs and the European Chambers of Commerce will send in their representatives. Is there any war going on between the Ruling Chiefs and the Britishers or between the European Chambers of Commerce ? The English nation is there. Is there any fight going on between the loyalists and the British Government ? Why should then these parties send their delegates to the Round Table Conference ?

But since the people of this country call it a Round Table Conference, let us see what the Britishers call it. The speeches of the British statesmen, for valid reasons, avoid to call it a Round Table Conference. President, I have finished. I ask if the constructive programme of the

Congress since some years past are sufficient to bring about Independence. In my mind it is not. No doubt, there is reference to civil disobedience in the programme. But at the same time I say civil disobedience can never be organised by this programme. I fully believe unless we organise the youths, peasants, workers and other oppressed people civil disobedience will ever remain a mirage. Therefore, if you want to make the resolution effective I would request you to chalk out an effective programme. It is necessary to lay down a programme which will be in keeping with the times and will be welcomed by the students, youth, peasants and workers.

Last year at the Calcutta Congress we wanted the creed to be changed to that of Independence. It was put off. I think we have waited one year. I would beg of you to consider what you have gained by not changing the creed. One year is wasted. If this amendment is not accepted, God willing, it will be accepted in the near future, probably next year.

Mahatma Gandhi's resolution will not find favour with the youth of the country. I, therefore, beg of Mahatma Gandhi and our revered leaders to take stock of the country and also to the sentiments which move the hearts of the younger generation. Once before I resume my seat I thank Mahatma Gandhi for bringing forward this goal before the country.

PROGRAMME OF ALL-ROUND BOYCOTT

Speech at the Lahore session of the Congress, 31 December 1929

Before I proceed to lay my case I take this opportunity of conveying my cordial and hearty thanks to Mahatma Gandhi for coming forward to move a resolution which declares Swaraj to mean complete independence. But I move this amendment because I believe that the programme laid down by his resolution is not such as to carry us towards the goal of complete independence. My amendment is consistent with the goal, and in keeping with the spirit of the times. I have no doubt it will find favour with the younger generation in this country, if not now at least in the next Congress.

Mine is a programme of all-round boycott. I do not think it will be of any use taking up one item in the programme of boycott and leaving out others. It will not be consistent with our creed of independence to go and practise in the law courts. It will not be consistent either to enter local bodies, some of which, like the Calcutta Corporation, require the oath of allegiance to be taken. There is another reason why you should give them all up. The task before us is so arduous, and the responsibility on our shoulders is so great, that we shall have to concentrate our whole time and energy on the programme of work. I should like to submit, at this stage, that if you are not prepared to go in for complete boycott, it will be no use your boycotting the Councils only.

Let us be consistent. Let us be for complete boycott or none at all. I am an extremist and my principle is—all or none. If I am to advocate a policy of the capture of public bodies, I would like to capture every public body. If we are to boycott at all, why not boycott completely and concentrate our attention and energy on some other programme ? Therefore I would earnestly plead for the acceptance of my amendment. I know public opinion in India today requires it.

Now a word or two on Mahatmaji's resolution. In the preamble, you are asked to endorse the action of the Working Committee in subscribing to the Delhi manifesto. I am not prepared to advise anyone to do it. Again, are you prepared to accept the reference to the Round Table Conference ? I would not call it a round table. It is certainly not round. I would call it square. A round table conference is a conference between two belligerent parties, between plenipotentiaries representing opposite side. I ask you whether the people of India are invited to send any of their representatives with full powers to negotiate with the representatives of the British Government. Are we assured that the conclusions reached at this conference are to be ratified by both parties ? Are we sure that the conclusions of the conference are not to go for reconsideration before the British Parliament ?

You know that when the treaty was drawn up between Britain and South Africa, the conclusions reached at the conference of both the parties were regarded as sacred by both. I know for a fact that in the case of the South African constitution drawn up at the conference, in spite of its grammatical errors, it had to be ratified by the British Government, and the British Parliament could not even correct those grammatical errors. That is what a round table conference means. What is the character of the conference that has been offered to India ? The Simon Commission and its paraphernalia are to be there, and the conclusions of the conference are to go before the Parliament. It is not merely the people of India that should send representatives to the conference but the European Chambers of Commerce and the Ruling Chiefs. Is there a fight between the British Government, on the one hand, and the European Chambers and Ruling Chiefs on the other ? Is there any fight proceeding between Government and the loyalists ? I know of no such fight. When there are these bodies to send in their representatives to the conference, I say it is not a round table conference. But, unfortunately, people in this country insist on calling it so and the Britishers are equally insistent on not calling it a round table conference.

One argument more and I have done. The resolution refers to the constructive programme as the method whereby we have to achieve the political emancipation of India. I would like the House to consider whether the constructive programme, which the Congress has been pursuing for the last few years, is something which is sufficient to enable us to reach the goal of complete independence. No doubt there is a reference to civil disobedience in the resolution. But I submit that the civil disobedience will never come until we can organize the workers and peasants and depressed classes on their specific grievances. If my programme is adopted, it will be sufficiently effective for us to march on the road to independence. I appeal to the supporters of the resolution to note the altered circumstances and feelings of the people, particularly the younger generation, and accept my motion.

TOTAL BOYCOTT

Statement in an interview, 2nd January 1930

As the result of yesterday's proceedings in the Indian National Congress we stand vindicated. At Calcutta last year we pressed for the adoption of the creed of Independence. We were defeated no doubt. But we felt even then that moral victory was ours. What was rejected at Calcutta owing to the influence of Mahatma Gandhi, Pandit Motilal Nehru and other leaders has now been adopted by the Lahore Congress and the most significant fact is that Gandhiji himself moved the resolution on Independence and Pandit Motilal seconded it.

It would not be irrelevant to ask what we have gained by shelving for nearly twelve months the question of Independence. I believe that if we had adopted that creed at the Calcutta Congress we would have been able to make much greater progress during the past twelve months than we have actually done.

While conveying my gratitude to Mahatma Gandhi for moving this resolution I had to point out that the programme which he laid down in that resolution was not in keeping with the spirit of times and with altered mentality and ideas of the younger generation to-day neither was the programme, in my opinion effective for the purpose of achieving Independence. I am not sorry that my amendment was lost as I was not sorry that my amendment at the Calcutta Congress was defeated. The country will have in another twelve months to consider the merits of my amendment and I have not the shadow of doubt that my proposition, on something very much like it, will be adopted by the next Congress. My only regret, however, is that meanwhile much valuable time will be lost. But this cannot be helped, for political education is sometimes a slow process particularly when the influence of practically all prominent leaders is acting on the opposite side.

With regard to the question of boycott I would like to make my position clear once again. As I stated in my speech in the open Congress yesterday a mere boycott of Legislatures will be altogether useless. I may pander to vanity of those who felt hurt when the Congress adopted the Swarajist programme but that is about all. It was surprising to find that the erstwhile supporters of the triple boycott were not prepared for the adoption of the wholesale boycott as I had advocated. The boycott of Legislatures and other public bodies can be supported on two grounds. Firstly, it becomes inconsistent from a strictly moral point of view to adopt the creed of Independence and at the same time take the oath of allegiance. Secondly, the boycott of these bodies enables us to concentrate our whole time and energy on some other programme with a view to setting up a parallel Government.

From this point of view it appeared to me advisable either to go in for wholesale boycott of these bodies or in the alternative to leave them alone as they are. It is wrong to help in law-making inside the Legislatures. It is equally wrong to help administering law inside the law courts and if it is wrong to take oath of allegiance inside the Legislatures it is equally wrong to take that oath in other public bodies. However, since the Congress resolution has been passed it is no use going further into its merits at this stage.

Our first and foremost task will now be to carry on a raging and tearing campaign throughout the country in favour of independence. This campaign will help to create a new mentality and with a new mentality we shall be able to adopt a new programme—the programme which the Congress has now rejected.

Those of us who believe that the only practical method of winning our freedom is to organise the youths, the workers and the peasants and other oppressed sections of the community and on the basis of specific grievances, wherever possible, should go their own way without losing any time. The day will soon come when the Congress will rid itself of imperialistic and capitalistic influence and adopt a fighting and an effective programme and if the Congress fails to do so, I have no doubt that other organisations will come into the field and become the spokesman of the people of this country.

UNCONSTITUTIONAL RULING

Statement in an interview with Free Press, 7 January 1930

The first day (i.e., on the 27th December) when the A.I.C.C. met, I wanted to appeal to the All India Congress Committee against the decision of the Working Committee whereby the newly elected members from Bengal were barred from functioning. My point was that the B.P.C.C., had elected members to the A.I.C.C., according to rules. Every other action of the B.P.C.C., including filling up vacancies in the list of the A.I.C.C. members, had been accepted as valid by the higher authorities and I saw no reason why the members elected by the B.P.C.C., to the A.I.C.C., should not similarly be held to be valid members. As the custodian of the rights and dignity of the B.P.C.C., I had to fight for the newly elected members. When the President of the A.I.C.C., Pandit Motilal Nehru ruled out of order every resolution and every motion (including the motion for the adjournment of the House) that our party moved with the object of pressing our claim, we had no option but to walk out in protest. Anybody in my position with any sense of honour would have done exactly the same thing. It is altogether inconceivable that we should have taken part in the Subjects Committee leaving out the newly elected valid members. Our walk out had its effect and the next day—thanks to the efforts of Dr. B. C. Roy there was a compromise and in spite of the reluctance

of Mr. J. M. Sen Gupta, members of the Working Committee and the Subjects Committee agreed to admit the newly elected members. Thereupon, we entered the house in a body.

On the last day (i.e., the 1st January, 1930), we had again to walk out from the A.I.C.C., as a protest. This time, it was a protest against the new President of the A.I.C.C., Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru and the members of the Working Committee and against the decision of the majority in the A.I.C.C. When we came to the meeting none of us knew that within half an hour we should be forced to go out once again. Mr. J. M. Sen Gupta, I understand, has been pleased to insinuate that we walked out as a pretext for forming a new party. I am sorry that he has done so and all that I can say is that by attributing motives to others he has only demeaned himself in the eyes of all right thinking and impartial men. The fact is that the incidents in the A.I.C.C. meeting of the 1st January proved to be the proverbial last straw. Throughout the session of the Congress, members of our party had been shabbily treated by the President and the Working Committee far from helping us had virtually supported the President. On the 1st January we were all in an aggrieved state of mind. The climax was reached when we found that Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, Mahatma Gandhi and some other leaders had decided to form what they regarded as a homogenous party and had resolved to exclude old and tried members of the Working Committee on the ground of incompatibility of temperament. This extraordinary procedure was against the Congress Constitution and was contrary to prevailing practice. The services of Mahatma Gandhi were requisitioned for moving enbloc a list of ten names for the Working Committee. This list excluded names of Mr. Srinivasa Iyengar, Mr. Prakasam and myself among others and included Dr. Pattabhi against whom there was a strong feeling in the House and Mr. Jairamdas Doulatram, who till recently was a great champion of communalism. We felt that the leaders were taking an unfair advantage of Mahatma Gandhi's influence in having the list moved by him. What annoyed us all the more was the fact that our ex-colleagues in the Working Committee did not have the courtesy to consult us before taking such an unusual step. If they had done so in all probability we would have agreed to step aside.

When the original list was proposed by Mahatma Gandhi, Mr Satyamurthi proposed some other names as an amendment. At this stage the leaders made a frantic effort to avoid putting all the names to the vote, least the amendment be carried. Mr. Jamnalal Bajaj moved that before voting on the additional names, the sense of the House should be first taken with regard to Mahatma Gandhi's list. This was a clever move with the object of shutting out amendments and using Gandhiji's name and influence to carry the original list enbloc. Mr Satyamurthi protested against the procedure and suggested which was undemocratic and unconstitutional. Pandit Motilal Nehru then got up and said that the vote of the House should be taken as to whether they wanted the procedure suggested by Mr. Bajaj or the procedure suggested by Mr. Satyamurthi. Mr. Satyamurthi protested against Panditji's proposal saying that it was unconstitutional and undemocratic and the question of procedure should not be submitted to the vote of the House—as it was something above majority and minority. The President, thereupon, ruled that there was nothing undemocratic or unconstitutional in what had been suggested and he proceeded to take the vote of the House on the question of procedure. The President's ruling was obviously unfair and wrong and we should have walked out in protest at that stage. But we thought that the House should be first given a chance of doing us justice as it was just possible that the House would declare in our favour. But unfortunately by 48 votes to 62, the House declared in favour of a procedure which forcibly shut out all amendments.

When the result was declared there was no hope of any further appeal and we walked out in order to record our protest against the action of the President and the leader and against the tyranny of the majority. After that Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru declared that he would allow further nomination and ballot. This declaration was another

wrong perpetrated by the President. His first mistake was to submit to the vote of the House a procedure which was universal. His second mistake was to override the decision of the House after he had taken the vote and declared the result. This evidently was an after thought meant to retrieve a mistake he had committed. Unfortunately, it was too late for him to retrieve his mistake for we had then gone out.

I strongly protest against the statement of the President, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru that we walked out in haste without waiting for his ruling. On the contrary we stuck to our seats as long as there was any hope of getting justice. When we found that there was absolutely no hope of getting justice either from the Working Committee or from the A.I.C.C., we had no other option but to walk out. After the walk-out the question of forming a party was broached. And after considering all the circumstances and particularly the fact that the leaders had banded themselves into a homogenous party we felt that the only method whereby we could maintain our existence was to band ourselves into a party. This is in brief our version of the matter. I shall soon issue a fuller statement in connection with what I have said above.

TYRANNY OF MAJORITY

Statement as President, B.P.C.C., at Lahore on 8 Jaunary 1930

In view of the misleading reports that appeared in papers about our walk-out from the meeting of the All-India Congress Committee on the 1st January, and in view of the remarks made by Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru at the same meeting after we went out, which were repeated by him in a press statement, we feel it necessary to issue a full statement giving all the facts for the purpose of explaining the steps we took.

The action of the President which forced us to withdraw from the house was not the first of its kind. It was he culmination of a series of unconstitutional and undemo-ratic acts which could no longer be tolerated. From the very beginning the President had taken up an attitude against certain members of the House which was not only unfair but also vindictive. The climax came when some prominent members of the Working Committee including the President took the unprecedented step of recommending the exclusion of some prominent members of the out-going Working Committee without even caring to consult them. The services of Mahatmaji had to be commandeered in order to carry the prepared list of the names as had to be done in the case of practically all the important resolutions in the All-India Congress Committee as well as in the open session of the Congress.

Mahatmaji put his proposition as tactfully as possible but the reasons he advanced were not convincing. Mr. Satyamurthi proposed an amendment to the effect that Messrs. Srinivasa Iyengar, Prakasam and Subhas Bose be included as members of the Working Committee. Another member proposed the name of Sj. Govindanand. Seth Jamnalal Bajaj thereupon proposed that the sense of the whole House be first taken on the entire list as moved by Mahatmaji. The object of this proposal was to shut out the amendments moved by Mr. Satyamurthi who protested against this proposal of Mr. Bajaj and said it was against parliamentary procedure and it involved tyranny of majority over minority.

Pandit Motilalji thereupon said that the House had the right to lay down its own procedure and that the proposition of Mr. Bajaj to shut out further nomination and ballot was not out of order. Panditji suggested that the sense of the House should first be taken as to which of the two procedures should be adopted viz., that proposed by Mr. Bajaj or that proposed by Mr. Satyamurthi. Mr. Satyamurthi protested against Pandit Motilal's proposition as it was undemocratic and unconstitutional.

The President then ruled that there was nothing undemocratic and unconstitutional in the procedure suggested and overruling the objection of Mr. Satyamurthi put the proposition to vote. On taking votes it was found that 72 were for the proposition of Mr. Bajaj and 62 for further nominations and ballot. Mr. Satyamurthi thereupon walked out of the meeting to signify his protest against this procedure being adopted and 54 others went out with him. It has been asked why we went out after voting. The reply to that is that we wanted to give the House a chance of turning down the undemocratic and unconstitutional procedure suggested. The House, unfortunately upheld the procedure which we regarded as unconstitutional and undemocratic. Consequently we had no other option but to signify our protest by walking out.

We understand that after the walk out the President went back upon the decision of the House which was clearly indicated as being against further nomination and ballot and that overriding this decision of the whole House, he held ballot and declared the result as announced. After the above mentioned decision of the House additional names which were proposed as amendments were not before the House and the President had thus no authority either to allow the ballot or to include therein additional names. Thus the President committed wrong in shutting out amendments by taking the vote of the House and having done so he committed another wrong in going back upon the decision of the House. The procedure adopted after our supporters had left by the President was contrary to section 84 of the constitution which requires the Working Committee to be elected by the members of the AICC from among themselves.

The statement of the President that there had grown up a convention for the President to nominate his Cabinet and for the A.I.C.C. members to endorse it is wholly untrue. At Gauhati names for the new Working Committee were proposed not only by the retiring Working Committee but also by members present, and all the names thus proposed were voted upon. At Madras the suggestion of Dr. Ansari that he should have a Cabinet of his own choice was turned down and voting took place on the names poposed by him as well as by others. At Calcutta the list was agreed to between parties and minority party was given a substantial representation through the inclusion of Messrs. Srinivasa Iyengar, Subhas Bose, Sardar Sardul Singh, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru and Satyamurthi and the agreed list was carried without a division.

Pandit Motilal Nehru urged that the House had a right to lay down its own procedure and that the proposition of Seth Jamnalal Bajaj to shut out further nomination was not out of order. Mahatmaji put his proposition as tactfully as possible and the reason he advanced for proposing a packed list was anything but convincing. Gandhiji made a surprising assertion that the Working Committee was like a cabinet and that no one could thrust any member on the President. A Cabinet system presupposes party Government because members of the Cabinet must have same views and same outlook viz., they must be of one mind and therefore belong to the same party. By the introduction of cabinet system Mahatmaji automatically invited party system and those who were deliberately left out from Gandhiji's party owing to difference in outlook or incompatibility of temper had either to become politically inactive or had to bind themselves into party.

The A.I.C.C. has, in our opinion, been acting ever since 1921 on the principle that we are in a state of war and hence the Working Committee, like a wartime Cabinet, should be coalition. This is the reason why leaders like Pandit Malaviya have been given a place in the Working Committee in the past though they were entirely opposed to the policy and programme of the Congress at the time. And this is the reason why at Calcutta last year two schools in the Congress were represented on the Working Committee. Mahatmaji also said that the Working Committee should be of one mind. It will be surprising to many that Mahatmaji and Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru are not of one mind and there is no incompatibility of temper between them. We do not know how the younger generation in India will receive this news. It will be news to many. Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru has now more in common with his erstwhile friends of Dominion Status school than with his erstwhile colleagues of the Independence League.

Mahatmaji also said that the Working Committee was so selected as to enable them to push as far as possible the work of Civil Disobedience. At present Civil Disobedience is going on only in one place in India, viz., at Bandabilla in Jessore in Bengal where villagers have stopped paying Union Board taxes at great risk and sacrifice. But the President of the Provincial Congress Committee which had undertaken this Civil Disobedience was not regarded as a fit candidate for the Working Committee. We shall now leave it to the public to judge how far we were justified in walking out from the meeting of A.I.C.C. as a protest.

Now that the Indian National Congress has adopted the creed of Independence, it is our duty to start work at once in order to prepare the country for the attainment of that objective. To that end a raging and tearing campaign throughout the province is necessary and the message of complete Independence has to be carried to every home in Bengal. In addition to this the Congress has laid down that civil disobedience should be started wherever the circumstances prove to be favourable. Civil disobedience has already been started in Jessore District in the form of agitation against the establishment of Union Boards and non-payment of Union Board taxes. I know that there are other districts in Bengal where Union Boards are unpopular and the people want these Boards to be abolished. I request the Congress Committee in those districts to review the situation and consider if they also should take up the agitation against Union Boards within their jurisdiction. I am glad to note that in the Diamond Harbour sub-division in the District of 24 Parganas, where Union Boards are sought to be established, the agitation against Union Boards has already begun.

Many friends and co-workers have been asking me what positive work they should do, while carrying on the Independence campaign in the villages. I suggest to them that they should endeavour to start a Congress Committee in every village and place before the Committee this three-fold programme :—

(1) The Village Congress Committee should organise a village militia which will undertake the work of defence and will thereby make the villagers quite independent of

the police as the village chowkidars.

(2) The village Congress Committee should urge upon the villagers to keep away from the law-courts and settle their disputes by arbitration through the Congress Committee.

(3) The Village Congress Committee should carry on an effective boycott of British goods and should at the same time promote Swadeshi enterprise, help Swadeshi industries and thereby help the villagers to become economically self-reliant.

I propose to call a Conference of workers from the different districts in a week's time and discuss with them the above programme and ask them for further suggestions in this connection.

INDEPENDENCE RESOLUTION

Speech at the meeting at Harish Park, Calcutta on 10 January 1930

Differences of opinion inside the Congress are inevitable, but once a decision over any measure is arrived at, it must be obeyed and carried out by one and all.

The resolution setting forth Complete Independence as our ideal, has been passed but it will have to be probed as to how far the same will prove useful. As regards its utility, the history of Ireland provides a very pertinent example. The Irish Nationalists not only passed a resolution setting forth independence as their goal but also declared complete independence. Some of them who were instrumental in making that declaration have stated in their memoirs that though only a handful of men supported that declaration yet it was essential at that time because the nation could not be roused unless such an ideal was placed before it. After that the whole national outlook of Ireland underwent a complete change.

The declaration that has been made at Lahore is particularly significant. It requires a survey of the history

of the Congress, since its inception 44 years ago, to realise the manner in which the national mind has given itself out by this declaration. During the early fifteen years one of the chief characteristics of the Congress proceedings was the passing of the loyalty resolution. Towards the close of the last century and at the commencement of the present a change came over the national outlook.

Distinguished Indians like Keshab Chandra, Swami Vivekananda and Mr. Jagadish Chandra Bose came in contact with the Western Culture, and preached that the Indians were in no way inferior to any free nation of the West and could hold their own in the field of international competition. Especially Swami Vivekananda emphasised the essential need of inculcating self-reliance.

This ideal first found its way in literature and, then, spread on to politics. Our youths, then began to ask why a nation, which could produce men like Rammohan or Sir Syed Ahmed, should be in a state of utter degradation. They were anxious to solve this problem and this spurred them on to read the histories of Japan, Ireland and other countries. A change came over the mentality of the people and gradually they felt disinclined to support the usual "loyalty resolution".

As a result, a cleavage presented itself in the ranks of the congress politicians, leading to the formation of parties known as Extremists and Moderates. The victory of the Extremists, who were in a minority at Surat, became complete at Nagpur, when the creed of the Congress was changed.

The ideal which the youths of Bengal cherished at the commencement of the present century, is going to be fulfilled.

At Lahore the Independence resolution was accepted without any opposition. Two reasons may be assigned for its unanimous acceptance; firstly, that it did not involve any change of creed and secondly, because the attitude of the Government did not warrant any hope of settlement. Mahatma Gandhi ushered it and Pandit Motilal supported it, which showed that they were converted to this ideal, and that, surely, was the greatest triumph of the youths.

The only problem that may now arise in about the programme that would lead us on to the goal of Independence. A raging and tearing campaign can, however, be always conducted on a general scale. Propaganda for infusing the idea of independence and of launching civil disobedience as in Bandabilla, are, perhaps, the easiest things that we can do in the next twelve months.

As regards propaganda, we all know the attitude of the bureaucracy towards it. Already a number of prosecutions have been launched against the Magic Lantern lectures. The Government is so much frightened that not only the lecturers have been arrested and prosecuted but the lanterns have also been confiscated.

Britain is a past master in the art of propaganda. During the last war they carried both intensive and extensive propaganda in neutral countries against Germany, accusing her of committing barbarous atrocities. The German War veterans like Von Ludendorff and others subsequently wrote that they had at first ignored this aspect but when they discovered their mistake and arranged for propaganda in neutral countries they found that the field had already been captured by the British—Russia, now, is carrying on this art very effectively and that is why Britain so much dislikes—I shan't say detests—Russia, who, neither in armament, nor in any other material resources can be compared to Britain.

TO STUDENTS

Speech at the Calcutta Engineering College on 15 January 1930

I do not know how much I deserve the compliments that have been bestowed on me but I know this much that I have my own ideal of life before me and I am striving my best to attain it. Every man and every nation is continually being subjected to the hidden process of construction and destruction. All destructive works precedes some constructive works, and if we fail to build up some thing on the remains of the things destroyed, we must have destroyed in vain. Man's life is being guided by this fundamental law of nature. No man has ever been great for all that he destroyed in his life time. He must also be a master builder. Human life manifests itself through this play of the creative and destructive forces in him.

Today I find here in this college all the signs of real creative work. Many attempts like this were made in the year 1921. Some of them stood the onslaught of time while some collapsed. I have deeply thought over the causes of the failures. If outside the pale of government influence we want any institution to be a success, it is necessary that it must impart education and training which will enable the students to earn their livelihood and fulfil their ambition. Shastras might have advocated learning for the sake of learning only, but the same shastras have also said that dharma, artha, kama and moksha all depended on the existence of life. Life cannot be made successful unless we are alive. All around us we find forces working as if in a conspiracy to crush life out of existence, and nature seems to be a party to it. Consequently, we shall have to win a victory in this battlefield of life by making education a means to this end. No one would have even cared for governmental institutions had it not been for pecuniary considerations. The boys who will be going out of this college shall have to depend on themselves and on the merit of the training that they receive here. This college has, therefore, a bright future and, in time, it will become an important educational centre. Of course, that is our ultimate goal. But we should also remember that unless we keep this high ideal before us we have every chance of missing the mark. Now, we shall have to start with small institutions, and I am sure they will, at no distant date, assume mighty forces. The future of institutions like this is undoubtedly bright as it is on humble foundations like this that grand structures of great institutions are often built. Its aim will be fulfilled by the intensity of the faith entertained and the amount of labour put in by its organisers.

The general condition of our country is such that we do not get any legitimate help from outside in any of our enterprises. The environment of free countries always enable its people to unfold themselves quite spontaneously. Our condition is just the opposite. Here we are to score success against heavy odds and by overcoming obstacles by our internal strength and inspiration.

I am now engaged in two kinds of work. Whenever there has come over this country a flood of destruction (of all that is bad) I have jumped into it. And again when an era of constructive works has dawned over this land I have never hesitated to put all my strength into it. Between these two contending forces life at times seems to become unbearable.

With regard to this college I assure you that if the organisers are inspired with that idea success is inevitable. I believe they have got that idea and inspiration, or else they would not have undertaken it. There is no doubt that they have spent enough money and have undergone considerable sacrifice to this end.

As regards degrees and diplomas it is gratifying to note that the condition of the country has advanced to such an extent that people no longer care for them. Only the other day many of those who got themselves admitted into national institutions were brilliant boys. Many of them went back but there were some who did not. Many of those who had the courage and strength to stick are known to me. None of them is a B.A., or an M.A., yet both in respect of manliness and power of earning they are found to be superior to either.

Formerly people used to go to foreign countries to get Ph.D., and D.Sc. degrees. Japanese would go out only to learn. None of them would go for mere degrees. The same idea is creeping into us. Our people have also learnt to ignore all artificiality and judge things on their merits only. I know of people who have no degrees, but all the same they are working with ability. Once in connection with the working of a printing press, we got the machines designed and installed by a foreign-trained engineer, but they did not work at all. At that time I happened to visit a mechanical shop, where 200 machines were found to be working quite smoothly. This led me to enquire about the engineer responsible for it. The proprietor said that they were installed by a foreman getting Rs. 40 only. I had to take his help for the running of our machines.

Above all I want to tell you that now-a-days such institutions are indispensable in this country. The organisers must build them up with their strength and vision and with the success of such enterprises their lives also will attain fulfilment.

I cannot tell you how much I shall actually be able to do for it, but I can assure you that I shall spare no pains to do whatever may lie in my power.

The qualities that go to make a man worthy of the name can all be found in our people. Time and opportunities are lacking. But all our attempts will be crowned with success if we have the power to create them. We have an ideal, so when we attain freedom we shall again rise to the full height of our growth. I again ask the students that when they go out they should go with the idea that they must make their lives successful by standing on their own legs. They must manfully fight life's battle and earn their bread with the sweat of their brow.*

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* Translated from the original in Bengali.

MORE ABOUT BANDABILLA SATYAGRAHA CAMPAIGN

Statement on the Bandabilla situation, Jessore, 17 January 1930

My attention has been drawn to a statement issued by the Associated Press of India in connexion with the Satyagraha campaign started at Bandabilla in Jessore district. It is absolutely false to say that the Satyagraha campaign has practically ended. The campaign far from ending is now in full swing and it will approach its end only when an honourable settlement is reached. The latest report shows that on the one side Government repression is going on with full force and on the other the villagers are carrying on the fight with grim determination.

The news given by the Associated Press of India that Sj. Bijoy Chandra Ray, the local leader of the campaign, is awaiting his trial, is a belated piece of information. Not only

Bijoy Babu but all his colleagues were arrested long ago and they are now awaiting their trial. But fresh workers have already taken charge of the work there.

The news that the District Board authorities are trying to check the movement is also belated for they have been working against the movement from the very beginning.

The statement that attached properties are fetching good prices is equally false because the fact is that cattle worth forty, fifty and sixty rupees are being sold for small sums like 8 annas or one rupee.

The villagers are nowhere near their former selves as the Associated Press of India want to make out. Rather they have now been turned into military police camps. Further, since my visit to Bandabilla the movement has spread not only to other Unions in the Jessore district but also to the adjoining districts.

LETTER TO MAYOR OF CALCUTTA

Alipore Court,
23. 1. 30

To
The Mayor,
Calcutta Corporation.
Sir,

I am informed by some of my councillor friends that the Corporation at its meeting held yesterday has passed a resolution unanimously asking me to reconsider my resignation as Councillor. I am profoundly grateful to the Corporation for this resolution which I construe as a vote of confidence in me and as an appreciation of my humble services during the time that I have been connected with the Corporation. I appreciate this resolution all the more because I am on the point of walking into the prison house along with my comrades. I feel that as I have to serve a term of one years' imprisonment, no purpose will be served by withdrawing my resignation. Rather I shall be doing an injustice to my electorate if I retain my seat while I shall be in jail. I once again thank the Corporation for the

honour they have done me by unanimously asking me to withdraw my resignation.

Yours truly,
SUBHAS CHANDRA BOSE

BANDABILLA SATYAGRAHA AND BENGAL CONGRESS

Statement issued on 23 January 1930

To-day several of us are on our way to jail to serve out our sentences of a year's rigorous imprisonment. The circumstances naturally bring Jessore and Bandabilla uppermost in our thoughts. We pray, may the Almighty crown the people of Bandabilla with success in their non-violent fight against the powerful bureaucracy. Before this, the Midnapur people had launched a similar fight and the Government were forced to withdraw the local Union Board. The fight has already been started over the Union Boards in other districts of Bengal following the example of Jessore. This leaves no room for doubt as to the final success of the people of Bandabilla for all their earnest devotion and sacrifice to the great cause. Let them march on as ever in their struggle with unflinching courage and court all sacrifice, struggle and suffering that involves. This is our ardent appeal to them. We appeal to the people of Jessore to strain to their utmost to help Bandabilla. Without them what can Bandabilla do alone?

Finally we pray to the Almighty may the Bandabilla Satyagraha movement create a new force and fresh impetus to the whole of Bengal, as also to the whole of India.

Before we walk into the prison house I appeal most earnestly to all Congressmen in Bengal to close up their ranks and present a United Front to the bureaucracy. The differences that have recently appeared within the ranks of the congress should now be buried fathoms deep.

It is now clear that the Government are bent upon pursuing a policy of ruthless repression. When the Government are organised and determined we must be equally well organised and equally firm in our determination to achieve Independence.

The public are aware that owing to the repressive policy of the Bengal Government our workers in most of the districts are being prosecuted in large numbers. It will require funds on the one hand and the assistance of lawyers on the other to arrange for the adequate defence of our workers. Until the Congress initiated a policy of non-defence we shall be failing in our duty if we do not make proper arrangements for the defence of our workers.

There is another important question in connection with which I shall take the public into confidence and appeal for their sympathy and support. The finances of the B.P.C.C. are in a deplorable condition. On the one hand we are in debts, and on the other financial help is immediately needed for carrying on the present programme of the Congress and for conducting the Bandabilla Satyagraha campaign and the volunteer movement in Bengal. I appeal to the generous public to come to our aid in the present crisis and open wide their purse-strings. I can assure them that if the B.P.C.C. is not financially starved the movement in Bengal will go on with full vigour and unabated zeal even in our absence.

ALL INDIA TRADE UNION CONGRESS

Statement issued on 23 January 1930.

Comrades, we are faced with a serious crisis in our history today. The wheels of Government repression are seeking to grind and overpower us. It is, therefore, the supreme duty of all those who live in or are connected with the working class movement to put forward every effort to organise and strengthen themselves. I appreciate with all my heart the honour which the workers of India did me by electing me as President of the All India Trade Union Congress. My regret today is that I shall not be allowed liberty to do my bit in the service of India. Apart from the Govt. repressions, the All India Trade Union Congress is faced with another serious difficulty owing to dissension within the ranks of the trade unionists. At this juncture I earnestly appeal to all trade unionists and also to the general mass of workers to come to the aid of the Trade Union Congress and stand by it in its hour of trial. The cause of the workers is a cause of justice and of humanity. I have no doubt that the cause will ultimately prevail and that the workers of India will rise to the occasion and lead the movement on to success and glory.

BENGAL VOLUNTEERS

Statement issued on 23 January 1930

It appears that the Corps "Bengal Volunteers" has incurred the displeasure of the authorities. This is, therefore, just the time when I should address an appeal to the youths of Bengal to join the Corps in large numbers. To those who are already members, my appeal is that they should work with heart and soul and see to it that in our absence the work of the Corps does not receive a setback. I have no doubt that the repressive policy of the Government will only help to strengthen our Corps in point of numbers, discipline and organisation.

The responsibility of our officers and N.C.O.'s is very great indeed. They will have to set an example to the rank and file of our Corps. I have complete confidence in them as also in our rank and file and I have no doubt that they will rise to the occasion.

SUBHAS CHANDRA BOSE
General Officer Commanding, B.V., Alipore Court.

INDEPENDENCE DAY

Appeal to the citizens of Calcutta on 24 January 1930

It is probably something more than a mere accident that we have been convicted before the 26th January which will be celebrated all over India as Independence Day.

It may be that Government think the celebration of Independence Day will be hampered if we are sent to jail before the 26th January.

I, therefore, appeal to the citizens of Calcutta to see to it that in our absence the Independence Day is celebrated in Calcutta in a manner worthy of the great city of which we are proud to call ourselves citizens. I have no doubt that our absence at this stage will not matter in the least, rather it will inspire our fellow citizens to put forth greater efforts to make the function a success.

PRISON DIARY

Alipore Central Jail, 1930

7.2.30 Last night a new trouble began. Prem Singh of our group started saying that since the political prisoners of Lahore jail have started a fast he too, in sympathy, would go on hunger strike. At night, before the final lock-up, we discussed the matter with him at length. But he evidently had stuck to his resolution. For in the morning when we went for tea we found Prem Singh missing. On enquiry we found him still in bed. Then we decided that it was best to persuade him and pre-empt this step because once he continued with his fast his grit would grow and he would himself perhaps hesitate and feel ashamed to abandon his vow. All of us went to his room together and argued the matter with him. Dr. Dasgupta was made our principal spokesman and after a lot of persuasion he agreed to give up the fast. After he had eaten we went out for a round.

On return from our morning round we heard that the Inspector General of Prisons would come to visit us. Though he came he did not enter our yard.

After three, Messrs Baroda Pain, Mrityunjoy Chattopadhyay and Birendranath Sengupta—lawyer friends—came to visit us. I was thrilled on seeing Barodababu after a long time. Following them, so to say, came mother, father, Baradidi, Mejoboudi etc. Shyamadas Kaviraj accompanied them. They were here for an hour or so. They were very eager to learn all about the national flag episode from where did it come and what happened to it. Imprisonment perhaps affects and modifies the attitude of friends and relatives in a way no other situation can.

8.2.30 Today is Saturday. The Superintendent came in the morning. We talked about our programme and he suggested that some of us teach in the school meant for the junior inmates. As a matter of fact we suggested this some time back and it was he who said that the proposal could not be accepted. Now that his opinion has changed, all of us felt happy. It appeared that he must have had a talk with the Inspector General of Prisons and this has led to the change of attitude. He added that in order to teach the prisoners the use of the spinning wheel he might take our assistance. Once they know this, "khaddar" can be produced in the Jail for the loom has always been there.

There was talk about bringing food from outside and he said that in future he would permit bringing food once a week only. Cereals like rice and dal can always however be brought.

9.2.30 Today is Sunday and a holiday. On this day prisoners wash their clothes and take rest. So we decided that today we will not spin. Instead we will chat after cleaning our rooms, airing our beddings and washing our clothes. And this is how the day was spent. In the afternoon Mrityunjoy Babu and other lawyers came. There was talk regarding the case. On going to the office I found that a whole lot of books have arrived from home. I had written to the Government about the treatment of political prisoners. The Deputy Jailor informed me that the Inspector General has told him to tell me that the matter is receiving consideration. Following is the copy of the letter I had written. (The letter was not included in the diary—Ed.).

10.2.30 Today is Monday and the day for general inspection. On this day prisoners are expected to display their personal belongings (for example, blankets, underwears, plates, bowls) and wait for the arrival of their master for inspection. The master i.e., the Superintendent comes, visits every yard and inspects their belongings. The prisoners get an opportunity to lodge complaints if there are any. And because the prisoners crowd the paths for inspection on Mondays we cannot and do not go out for our morning round. This happened today.

For the past few days lengthy discussions have been taking place on almost anything under the sun. Fight for freedom in different countries, Bengal's cultural, educational and other pursuits, modern histories of China, Russia and Ireland, sociology, anthropology and modern psychology are all being discussed—even Mahatma Gandhi has not been spared. One day Nripen Babu vehemently argued with a number of youths over Mahatma Gandhi. On one side was Nripen Babu alone and on the other a number of argumentative youths. After several hours of debate adjournment took place. Nripen Babu arguing all alone suddenly found himself uncomfortably placed against such youthful opposition. Their ultimatum was that if a leader of today does not pay any heed to his followers he is bound to forfeit his right to leadership. And if Nripen Babu does not change his opinion about the matter, his followers might become rebellious. As a result, what was adjourned was finally given up.

11.2.30 Tuesday. Today when Major Dutta came to our yard, some trouble took place. On the ground floor some cells had blankets as curtains. On seeing this the Superintendent called for the reason (it must be against the rule—it did not seem wrong to us). Though the occupier of the cell was standing in front nothing was said to him. Instead the sergeant was fired and this must have angered the occupier, Mr. Bhupendra Rakshit. Needless to say, political prisoners like us are generally very sensitive and touchy about insulting situations. On such occasions we get worked up and this finds expression. Anyway, Bhupen Babu started irritatedly talking to the Superintendent. Mr. Dutta asked for the reason behind using blankets as curtains. Bhupen Babu said, it was done for fear of catching cold. (At this stage I should record that each cell has one door and one window. The doors are made of iron bars. And through these the inside can be seen. Opposite the door and very close to the ceiling beams is the window. The windows in

like manner are made of iron bars). Mr. Dutta on leaving said that the use of such curtains is bad for health. His children sleep outside in the verandah, the whole night. To this Bhupen Babu retorted by saying that the cell is a different proposition altogether and Dutta Sahib should stay in one to find out what it is like. Such talk in front of a junior officer infuriated Mr. Dutta and he walked off without saying anything. And we did not meet him that day.

In a state of anger he went to his office and ordered—(1) No one is permitted to hang his blanket or use any curtain (2) everyone staying upstairs should come down so that he can meet him. We were informed about all this very hesitatingly by the sergeant. But the orders were not officially communicated to us that day.

We had a discussion on the Superintendent's attitude towards us.

The following morning when he came he still had his grudge. We decided that we would not go down so that he would have to come up. The curtains were still there, their number had only increased. First he went to the next yard where Nripen Babu and other friends were. He had an altercation with Nripen Babu regarding his newspaper. When he was an undertrial prisoner Nripen Babu was given his newspaper. After conviction and through confusion he was getting his newspaper all right—though from the point of view of law he should not have got it. When the matter came to the notice of the Major he stopped the supply. Regarding this an altercation took place between Nripen Babu and the Major.

After this Dutta Sahib came to our yard and there was discussion for almost one and a half hours. The first point he made sorrowfully was that he had practically been insulted and in order to defy him curtains had been hung in the next yard etc. etc. We realised that it would be stupid to continue to be bitter about trivial issues. And if one has to fight, one should fight over major ones. So we explained to him that the whole trouble was born of a misunderstanding between both the parties and curtains were not hung to insult him. Many of us have been hanging curtains for quite some time and he should not take notice of such trivial matters.

All this cooled his frayed temper and we were happy and at ease.

Towards the afternoon I was summoned—the boss wanted to speak to me. At first I was worried as to whether this call was for personal reasons or for something relating to transfer. I suddenly remembered that in a similar way I was transferred from Behrampur jail, where I was a political prisoner in 1925, to Mandalay jail. Anyway, on reaching office I realised that there was no reason for apprehension. Dutta Sahib had called me for a chat. For over an hour we had a chat on various subjects—classification of prisoners and hunger-strike specially featured. After a long time when I had almost tired myself out by talking the meeting ended. The boss went back to his residence and I repaired to my cell.

13.2.30 Thursday. This morning trouble started again but luckily things were nipped in the bud and it could not mature. When in the morning we went out for our round the sergeant had removed all the curtains. Prem Singh had not gone out and when the sergeant came to remove his curtain there was a squabble. On return the others put up their curtains as before. When it was time for the boss to come the sergeant asked us to go down in order to meet him. Needless to say that at that moment we did not have the mood or inclination to please the sergeant or his master by going down. But for circumstantial reasons Major Dutta this morning did not turn up at our yard. So a cooling off of tempers took place. It was round about two in the afternoon. When we were all dozing that Mr. Dutta came, all alone. Then a long lecture, characteristic of him, began. The topic covered mainly was educational policy for the prisoners. He suggested that if we feel like we can take the responsibility of teaching adolescent prisoners. Then he moved on to care of prisoners after release, arrangement of funeral in case of death of Hindu prisoners etc. He said that unlike the British we are least bothered about the welfare of our prisoners. After talking for one and a half hours he left. As a result the Deputy Jailor and the Sepoys, all waiting for him to finish, became restless.

14.2.30 Friday. This morning the boss did not come this side. Round about twelve before we had completed our lunch the Deputy Jailor came with a message from Dutta Sahib. The message was to the effect that Srijukta Urmila Devi had come to meet Biren Babu and me. When we went there we got entangled in a discussion with the Major. For almost two hours we were with him. From Dutta Sahib's room we heard a group of youths shouting 'Bande Mataram' from a bus. At first we thought Shri Jnananjan Niyogy must have come to the jail but the vehicle did not stop at the gate. Instead it went towards Alipore. Half an hour after our return to the yard we heard 'Bande Mataram' repeatedly. Now it appeared that the sound was moving towards us. Ultimately this slogan shouting came from the jail gates. Then it became obvious that Jnananjanbabu had finally arrived. In sheer excitement we too shouted cheers of welcome. Young and old everybody joined in. Seeing our excitement one of the prisoners of the European yard asked "Are you all going out?" The reply was "No, more are coming in". To this he responded "Hurrah". Only prisoners know the delight at the arrival of new political prisoners. Jnan Babu on reaching our yard was felicitated with great emotion. The ordinary prisoners were surprised at this enthusiasm and they wondered "What could be the matter with them?" The jailor came out, with a distorted face, to the verandah to find out the meaning of all this excitement. There were long enquiries on our part regarding what was going on outside. Then as per routine we went out for our evening round.

Today two more important incidents took place inside the jail. First, Shri Nikhil Nath Bandyopadhyay, who was convicted for Dakshineswar Bomb Case, was released after five years of imprisonment. Second, the hearing of Mechuabazar Bomb Case has commenced before a Special Tribunal. Twelve or thirteen undertrial young prisoners connected with this case are in this jail. A word must be said here about Nikhil Babu. He was transferred from a Bengal jail to a Delhi jail. There he was in solitary confinement and suffered endless pain. Then things slightly improved. Sometime back he was again transferred to a Calcutta jail.

15.2.30 Saturday. This morning Major Dutta did not stay for long in our yard. I thought it a good riddance, for once he starts chatting lecturing gets the better of him. His incessant flow of words makes one feel that he should have been a teacher or a clergyman. Instead by mistake he is a doctor in the jail department. But we were not spared and we landed up with a new trouble. On the previous day (i.e., Friday) Prem Singh told me that he was not receiving his quota of several items to which he was entitled (such as chair, exercise books, paper etc.) and next day (i.e., Saturday) he would thrash the matter out with the Super. I apprehended trouble from his attitude. I at once told the Warder to inform the office that Prem Singh has not received these items and has become impatient. Then I told the Deputy Jailor Anil Babu that Prem Singh is offended because he has not received any chair and something must be done about it soon.

THE MAYORAL ADDRESS

Delivered at the meeting of the Calcutta Corporation on 27 September 1930

I thank you from the core of my heart for the great honour you have done me by electing me as the Mayor of this city at a time when I was behind prison bars. I am also thankful to you for the sentiments expressed regarding myself from every section of this House—sentiments also expressed by our Deputy Mayor. I am not so vain or so foolish as to think for one moment that I am in any way worthy of this great honour. I am conscious that if I possess any merit at all, it is that I have tried to be a loyal and ardent follower of our late leader, Deshbandhu Chittaranjan Das. And I will confess that if I have any merit, it is this, that I have tried to follow the torch that he held aloft for the nation with all the reckless abandon of which a sentimental Bengali is capable.

Aldermen and Councillors, I do not think you expect from me a long speech. I am what Mahatma Gandhi was

once pleased to describe as "civilly dead". I have been "civilly dead" for the last eight months. But I do believe that the problems which faced the Corporation in January of this year are about the same as the problems which still face us today. And if we are to solve these problems we can do nothing better than refer to the first speech of the First Mayor of this premier city of the East. I hope you will bear with me while I quote a few extracts from that first speech, which, I believe, we all regard as our municipal testament. In that great speech Deshbandhu Chittaranjan Das was pleased to say :

"The great work which I have undertaken for the last ten or fifteen years is the building up of a pan-Indian people consisting of diverse communities with diverse interests but united and federated as one nation...In this Corporation I find plenty of work possible in that direction so far as it lies in me you will find that no communal interest goes against the well-being of the whole community, by which I mean the Indian people or the citizens of Calcutta in this particular respect."

"Here I believe we have not only the philosophy of Indian Nationalism but also the true relation between Civics and Politics."

Then Deshbandhu proceeded to say :

"It is the great ideal of the Indian people that they regard the poor as "Daridra Narayan". To them God comes in the shape of the poor and the service of the poor is the service of God to the Indian mind. I shall, therefore, try to direct your activities to the service of the poor, and you will have seen that in the programme, which I have drawn up, most of the items deal with the poor,—Housing of the poor, Free Primary Education and Free Medical Relief. These are all blessings for the poor, and if the Corporation succeeds, even to a very limited extent in this work, it will have justified itself."

I believe in this statement, which also gives expression to the essence of his philosophy, we have, what we might call, in modern terminology, the basis of socialism, and if you proceed to examine this programme you will be confirmed all the more in this suggestion of mine, that what he put in a spiritual garb was in essence what Modern Europe would regard as socialism. With regard to the practical programme before the New Corporation, Deshbandhu placed a few items before them: 'Free Primary Education; free Medical Relief for the poor; purer and cheaper food and milk supply, better sanitation in bustees and congested areas; housing of the poor, development of suburban areas; improved transport facilities, and lastly greater efficiency of administration at a cheaper cost.

Once again, if I may put his policy and programme in modern language, I would say that we have here in this policy and programme a synthesis of what Modern Europe calls Socialism and Fascism. We have here the justice, the equality, the love, which is the basis of Socialism, and combined with that we have the efficiency and the discipline of Fascism as it stands in Europe today.

Now gentlemen, you will bear with me while I give a brief summary of the work, which we have been able to do up till now with regard to some of the more important problems before the Corporation, namely Education, Housing, Roads, Medical Relief, Drainage and Lighting.

From a modest start of 19 schools in 1923-24, it has now grown to 218 schools on the 1st September, 1930. Of these 137 are boys' schools and 81 are girls' schools. The total number of pupils in Corporation schools was 2,468 in 1323-24, on the 1st April, 1930, the number was 26,560, of whom 15,562 were boys and 10,998 were girls. Of the total number of pupils 6,808 belong to the Mahomedan Community. The number of children of school-going age is about a lakh, and a little more than one fourth is provided for in Corporation schools.

The expenditure on education in 1923-24 was only a lakh and a half. In 1929-30, it amounted to a little over a lakh*. The Corporation have started 5 model schools; 2 more are under construction.

Nearly two-thirds of the number of children of school-going age are already at school in Calcutta on a voluntary basis. Therefore, the time has, I think, arrived to introduce

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* *This figure appears to be an error in recording.—Ed.*

compulsion. The Corporation have already decided to make a start in ward 9 where the conditions are particularly favourable and the matter is awaiting Government sanction. When this succeeds it is proposed to extend compulsion throughout Calcutta.

A training College for teachers has been started since 1927 and a number of teachers have received training.

On the 2nd February, 1925, the Corporation appointed a special Committee to frame a scheme. The committee held 12 meetings, selected a site by the 60 ft. Sewer Road to the South of Bridge No. 4 at Tiljala, approved a model consisting of 8 blocks—each block consisting of 4 suites—at an estimated cost of Rs. 13,000 for each block including the cost of land. They recommended the construction of 4 such blocks at a cost of Rs. 52,000.

On the 15th February, 1928 the Corporation referred the matter back to the Committee for further consideration. The committee in their final report recommended the following sites:

(a) A plot of Corporation land, measuring about 2¼ bighas, by the 60 ft. Sewer Road at Tiljala.

(b) A plot of Corporation land, measuring about 3¾ bighas, in Dalu Sircar Lane off Mominpore Lane.

As regards the site at Tiljala, the previous model was recommended with a suggestion that two such blocks should be constructed without delay.

As regards the site at Dalu Sircar Lane, a design prepared by the surveyor—consisting of blocks each having 4 living rooms, 4 kitchens, a covered verandah on either side and a separate privy was approved, and the committee recommended that immediate steps be taken for the construction of 4 such blocks at an estimated cost of Rs. 25,000 each. The Committee further recommended that a lakh of rupees should be spent every year for building dwelling houses for the working and poorer classes if this scheme proves a success.

This report was adopted by the Corporation on the 15th July, 1930 with a direction that the scheme be given effect to next year and that adequate provision be made in the next budget.

The Corporation spend annually about 5 lakhs on bituminous roads. Besides this the Corporation spend about 7 to 10 lakhs every year on road maintenance. The problem of up-keep of road in proper condition is becoming more and more difficult owing to increased motor traffic. Long before the New Corporation came into existence, a Corporation Committee investigated the problem and made a list of roads which would have to be reconstructed with concrete foundation. It was estimated on the basis of the figures at the time that the scheme would cost about Rs. 21 lakhs. Road construction is becoming more and more specialised, and the Corporation will have to address themselves to the problem immediately.

The Corporation have been extending facilities for medical relief. When the new Corporation started, there were only 7 Corporation dispensaries, and the expenditure on medical relief in 1923-24, including grants to Alms-houses and the cost of maternity and child welfare work, amounted to Rs. 3,60,000. The expenditure in 1928-29 amounted to Rs. 7,20,000 and the budget provision for the current year amounts to Rs. 8¾ lakhs. The Corporation have now 13 dispensaries of which one is a Unani dispensary and another is devoted exclusively to Homeopathic treatment. The grants to hospitals now amount to nearly Rs. 4 lakhs whereas in 1923-24 the figure was only Rs. 1,18,000.

After rejecting the spill reservoir scheme, which would have involved a considerable amount of useless expenditure, the Corporation have adopted two schemes prepared by Dr. B. N. Dey, special officer for the purpose—one for the improvement of the internal drainage, and the other for a new outfall.

The present drainage system has got out of balance, and, in view of the time that the deliberations and discussions over this matter have taken, it has become a matter of urgency to take the scheme in hand as soon as possible.

This will be the chief concern of the Corporation for the next few years.

It is a matter of considerable interest to find that the Corporation have adopted a scheme, also prepared by the special officer, for an electric generating plant for supplying current required at the central Municipal Office Buildings, the Hogg Street Building and the Hogg Market. I understand that this will mean an annual saving of about Rs. 70,000 in the electric bill.

It would, therefore, be to the advantage of the Corporation to see that the scheme is taken in hand as soon as possible.

Gentlemen, I hope that these few remarks will make it abundantly clear that the New Corporation, since 1924, has been fully alive to some of the most important problems that faced this great city. I do not for one moment maintain or suggest that we feel satisfied with what has been accomplished. On the other hand, I do believe that in the matter of roads, of education and housing, and particularly, with regard to the problem of the development of the Added Areas, much remains to be done. And the more and the more we realise the importance and the gravity of these problems, the greater will be the benefit for the whole city.

Gentlemen, fears have been expressed from time to time in this House that the interests of certain Communities or certain groups in this great city may suffer at the hands of the New Corporation. I do not think that there is any justification for this fear. I believe that on this question, the question of being fair and impartial to all communities in this great city, all sections in this House are agreed. I may tell the European members of this House that there is no apprehension that the interests of Chowringhee will suffer at our hands. We do realise the great difference between the conditions prevailing in the Chowringhee Quarter and those prevailing in the Aheeritola Quarter, but our ideal is not to bring down Chowringhee to the level of Aheeritola but to bring up Aheeritola to the level of Chowringhee.

Fears have also been entertained from time to time by our Mahomedan friends that the interests of their community may suffer at our hands. I am thankful to some of my friends on this side of the House for the kind remarks they have made with regard to myself. I will remind my friends that on the 16th July, 1924, I made a statement embodying my views with regard to the claims of the Mahomedan community in the matter of appointments, etc. That statement was made deliberately and with a full sense of responsibility, and today, I am prepared to say from the Mayoral chair that I adhere to every word in that statement. How far I shall be able to give effect to the policy contained in that statement depends not merely on me but also on this House. So far as I am concerned, and I believe so far as the congress party in the House is concerned, we mean sincerely to be fair and impartial to all Communities who comprise the civic life of this city.

A remark has been made by a friend about my resignation as councillor in January last, and that friend was pleased to ascribe it to "Political petulance". I did not know that I ever suffered from that disease which he has been pleased to designate as 'Political petulance'. I do hold strong views on political questions, and I am sincere in my belief, but that is no reason why my friend in this House should ascribe that action of mine as 'Political petulance'. In reply to this charge I shall only say this that the fact that during the period of my resignation I have been away from this House and from your midst, is sufficient reason why I resigned in January last.

I am glad to be back in your midst. I have been amongst you as your Chief Executive Officer, as one of your Councillors and, today, you have been pleased to confer the highest honour which it is possible for you to confer upon me. It is not only a source of joy but a privilege for me to be in your midst, and I do hope that with your help and co-operation, the work inaugurated by our great leader Deshbandhu Chittaranjan Das, about the middle of 1924, will attain fruition.

Some fear has been expressed that in view of the conditions prevailing to-day we may not be able to give that prominence to civic questions and civic interests which it is our duty to do as the representatives of the rate-payers. Some of my friends on this side of the House have replied to that charge. I shall only say once again in the words of our great leader, that "life is one whole". You cannot separate civics from politics and economics. All these problems are inseparably woven together, and the interest of one sphere of life is intimately connected with the interests of other spheres.

There is no doubt that India is passing through the throes of revolution. It may be a non-violent revolution, it is a non-violent revolution, but it is a revolution all the same. We want radical change of the present form of administration, and, so far as I am concerned, I am prepared to confess that the dream that I have in my mind is that of a Free India with a social order and a body politic based on the Universal principles of justice, equality and love.

Friends, the whole nation today is addressing itself to the task of creating a New India. Can any one seriously maintain that the Corporate life of Calcutta can be cut off and separated from the life of the whole nation? If you want to reconstruct your national life on the basis of justice, equality, freedom and love, is it also not necessary that the corporate life of Calcutta should be reconstructed on these principles? I do not think we have any essential quarrel with the Britishers. The world is big enough to hold us both. We want to live as free men and as friends. I am sure they also recognise in their heart of hearts the sincerity of our wish. We long for the day when there will be freedom in India and peace throughout the world. Only this we say, that peace throughout the world is not possible till India is free.

ON PROBLEMS OF CALCUTTA'S TRANSPORT SYSTEM

Speech at a meeting of Bengal Bus Syndicate, Shambazar, 19 October 1930.

I express my heartiest thanks to you for having invited me to this meeting and having shown to me your love and regard. On presenting your problems before this meeting today you have done well in having first of all mentioned the name of Rai Lalit Kr. Mitter whose demise gave a serious blow not only to the Bus Syndicate but to the Corporation and the public in general as well. That the country would be highly benefitted by the services of a cultured and enlightened youth like Lalit Babu, I expressed in 1924. His ability as a Councillor was well displayed during his tenure in the Calcutta Corporation. The people of the city are really indebted to him.

The mention of the name of the Secretary in the next place has been quite appropriate. Our greatest deficiency is that we cannot firmly stick to one thing. The unflinching adherence to a certain problem of the country will surely give success in the matter in the long run.

You have presented quite a lot of problems before me today, and I do not know if I shall be able to satisfy you by my answers. We have not as yet realized the gravity of the city's traffic problems. In every independent country there is a Ministry of Transport for regulating the vehicles. But we have not got that in our country, and that is why the power has been vested with the police. We hope when we shall attain power, we shall then be able to discuss the question with a Ministry of Transport.

You have said the Corporation has its power, and I, too, say—yes, it has got power but I do not know if it has much of that. What little it has, has not been exercised. As regards your proposal for a special sub-committee of experts to advise the Corporation in the Works Committee when new road alignments are proposed or new roads are to be opened I should say that a sub-committee for the transport may be appointed in the manner of the present Sub-Committee of the Corporation for different spheres of business. Representatives of the Bus Syndicate may be taken in the present Works Commttiee if it is not in contravention to our laws. But, in case such representatives cannot be taken in, a special Sub-Committee may be made where they may have access.

As to the Licensing Board the Corporation can do nothing : that is exclusively the Government business. We can simply move for it, but its acceptance depends on the Government.

You talked of monopoly. We never wanted to grant monopoly to anybody. The Tramways Company did not reduce the fares so long as they held their monopoly, but with the appearance of the Bus Company that monopoly

has ceased to exist.

You proposed for the removal of the Shambazar Tram Depot. We should do that if we can.

As regards conveniences for drinking water etc., I want to say that when I was in the Corporation in 1924, I proposed for constructing rest houses beside the roads and a scheme was made. In some places, one or two rest houses were erected, too, but afterwards there was failure of the scheme. If any body could give us a scheme it will be much welcome.

We cannot at present stretch our hands upon the Tramways Co. We had a chance in June last but that has been missed. Now, we shall have to wait for another seven years. A new agreement, of course, will soon be entered upon when I shall see that no partiality is observed.

I should like to tell you one thing in this connection. When you shall rise into power others will try to have you separated. You should, therefore, be always on the alert that you are not carried away by any party politics that may find its way into yourselves. Secondly, if you want a long life to your organisation you must be ever careful never to allow quarrel to arise between the labourer and the proprietors. Every facility must be granted to the labourers in the interest of the organisation for their pleasure is the gain of the proprietors.

IN DEFENCE OF SWADESHI

Statement as President, B.P.C.C., on 25 November 1930

During my recent visit to Pabna, I had an opportunity of looking into the condition of the hosiery industry there and the facts that I discovered were sufficient to alarm any patriotic Indian. I personally inspected all the mills that are now working and I had prolonged conversation with the proprietors and managers of those mills.

The astounding fact that I discovered was that during the year 1930, inspite of the boycott movement, the condition of all the mills had become increasingly worse. The demand for Pabna Hosiery had fallen considerably and as a result of that, the normal production of every mill had been curtailed. Many machines were lying idle, the hours of work had been restricted, a large number of employees had been thrown out of employment and out of nine mills, two had closed down, while some others were in a tottering condition.

From such information as I was able to gather, I found that two causes had been primarily responsible for this state of things. In the first place owing to the present economic crisis the demand for Pabna Hosiery had decreased rapidly throughout Bengal and particularly in North Bengal and in East Bengal. In the second place Japanese competition had become a serious menace and cheap Japanese hosiery had flooded the Indian market. Further, foreign hosiery mills as well as Indian mills outside Pabna had been making use of the brands used by the Pabna Mills and had been stamping on their goods such words as "Pabna Finished", "Pabna Quality", etc.

The authorities of all the Mills appeared to me to be patriotic men and they were anxious to make their goods pure Swadeshi by giving up foreign hosiery yarn altogether. But all of them complained that they were unable to get a sufficient quantity of good Swadeshi yarn. To add to their troubles, goods made of such Swadeshi yarn as was available and of Swadeshi dye were not approved by the Indian buyers or traders and the incessant demand was for hosiery made of foreign yarn. It is urgently necessary for the Indian public to modify their taste and encourage pure Swadeshi hosiery. I found that if the present taste of public continued, there were but two courses open to the Pabna Hosiery Mills, either to close down gradually if they decided not to use foreign yarn, or to use foreign yarn for manufacturing hosiery.

It is a fact that hosiery made out of the Indian yarn that is at present available in this country is somewhat inferior in finish to that made out of foreign yarn, but the pure Swadeshi stuff is not inferior in quality. If, therefore, the Indian public prefer the pure Swadeshi hosiery of slightly inferior finish to that of foreign yarn made hosiery, all the Mills can immediately give up foreign yarn altogether. I firmly believe that if all the facts are placed before the Indian consumer, he will readily prefer pure Swadeshi hosiery to any other stuff, even if the finish of the former be some what inferior.

In this connection, I would like to draw the attention of the Indian Spinning Mills to the demand that has now been created for hosiery yarn. It is high time that more mills had started spinning hosiery yarn of counts varying from 18 to 22 and I am sure that if they do so they will find a ready market.

There are at present 9 Hosiery Mills in Pabna out of which 2 have now closed down. Several lakhs of rupees have been invested in this promising business and the industry does credit to the constructive genius of Bengal.

The public have for years continued to buy Banga Laxmi cloth of inferior finish at a higher price and I have no doubt that in this present case they will readily buy pure Swadeshi Pabna hosiery of inferior finish, when the position is once explained to them. I would also like to draw the attention of the public to the fact that most of the Pabna Mills have been suffering from lack of finance and banking facilities. If they get better banking facilities they could easily expand the industry and thereby increase the output and lower the cost of production.

CONGRESS PROGRAMME AND THE YOUTH

Speech as Mayor, and the leader of the Congress Party in the Province, 11 December 1930.

I sincerely deplore the tragic incidents of Monday last and I do so because I feel that they are a confession of the temporary failure of the Congress programme and also the temporary failure of the Congress leaders to influence hundred percent of the younger generation in the country.

I do hope that when our feelings calm down, we shall take the earliest opportunity to explore the deeper causes of the incidents that have given a rude shock to all of us. It will not do simply to brand as "Misguided" the youths who are responsible for these incidents. The fact stares us in the face that India today wants freedom and wants freedom very soon. The fact also stares us in the face that there are people in this country, whatever their number may be, who want freedom not merely by following the Congress programme, but if need be they want freedom at any price and by any means.

So far as the Congress Party is concerned, they have made it clear over and over again as to what their policy and programme are. The whole world knows today that the Indian National Congress stands pledged to non-violence; but why is it that in spite of the best efforts of the Congress leaders and inspite of the best efforts of Congress workers all over the country, beginning from Mahatma Gandhi down to the ordinary village worker, we have so far failed to influence the minds and the judgement of the entire younger generation in this country? We have failed, because, so far, the Congress programme has not achieved freedom for India. I firmly believe that we shall achieve freedom in the long run, but until we can prove by our success that the Congress programme is the only programme that the country should adopt and follow, I do not see how it is possible to convert to our creed hundred per cent of the population.

There is another fact which I shall place before you. I should like you to consider whether the methods adopted by the Government during the last two years have had salutary effect upon the minds of our countrymen. I am referring to the various ordinances that have been promulgated. I had occasion when I was in prison to talk frankly to several responsible members of the Government and I made it perfectly clear to them that if these ordinances were promulgated one after another, if public meetings and processions were banned,—if ordinance like the Press Ordinance were thrust upon us and if thereby every avenue of open activity was stopped, the Congress leaders would fail to prove that their programme was the only effective programme; the only effect of these ordinances would be not to crush the spirit of freedom because that was impossible, —but to drive the movement underground. I am sorry that my worst anticipations seem somewhat justified to-day. I can assure every one, whether he be my countryman or he be a Britisher, that India has chosen the path of non-violence as the best and the easiest path to follow for the achievement of India's freedom. I do believe that inspite of temporary lapses our countrymen will adhere to this path and will be able in the near future to achieve freedom by following it. But until the goal is reached, I do hope that we shall not be content simply by passing resolution, making condemnation or by branding youths as "misguided", but we shall at the same time explore the deeper psychological causes which account for those tragic incidents.

FIRST LINKS OF MANY A FRIENDSHIP

Speech at the Scottish Church College of Calcutta on Friday, 12 December 1930

Twenty two centuries have gone by since Asoka, the greatest missionary-monarch known to history, sent forth to the Western World India's inspiring message of Dharma. In the days that followed, the flow of ideas changed their channel. Then, when missionaries of an oriental religion brought from the west, along with the message of Christ, the message of Intellectual Emancipation, an era of Renaissance dawned on our ancient land, a spirit of enquiry permeated our intellect and vitalised our minds. The centenary of that Awakening we are happy to celebrate today.

Those who assisted in the awakening deserve our grateful thanks. We are children of the Revolution in the realm of Thought. The Light of Education that was kindled by them is gleaming now in fuller effulgence; we are enabled now to see, feel and know, with increasing ease and success, not merely the mysteries of Nature, but also the deep recesses of our own minds, and above all to appreciate more fully our own cultural heritage.

Engaged in many spheres of activity, we all feel, consciously or sub-consciously, in our every action, the definite impress given to our minds by our education in this College and the invisible bond of fellowship that knits us all in sympathy and love. Here were forged the first links of many a friendship that brightens our life to this day.

Our college has happily completed its hundredth year. In congratulating it on such an occasion, we congratulate ourselves; for, we cannot forget that we were this college and the college is us. We pray that the second century of its career be brighter even than the first.

TRIBUTE TO THE MEMORY OF MAULANA MUHAMMAD ALI

Message as Mayor of Calcutta Corporation to the meeting of the Corporation on Wednesday, 7 January 1931.

I regret that owing to a previous engagement, I shall be away from town on Wednesday, and shall not, therefore, be able to attend the Corporation meeting. I am accordingly sending these few lines to add my tribute to the memory of Maulana Muhammad Ali. His sudden death in England, in the midst of his endeavours to bring about an understanding between Hindus and Mahomedans, is truly tragic, and the loss sustained by the country by his death is indeed incalculable. Today one is reminded of the prophetic statement, which he made to the effect that he would either bring swaraj with him to India or die in England. In Maulana Muhammad Ali we have lost a highsouled patriot of rare courage, who, for over two decades, was in the forefront of the fight for freedom and suffered greatly in its cause. His activities in connection with the 'Comrade' and the wonderful influence he wielded through the press as well as the platform, the past he subsequently took in the work of the Moslem league and the Moslem University at Aligarh, his espousal of the cause of Turkey during the war, his internment and his subsequent activities in connection with the Non-cooperation and Khilafat Movements are matters of common knowledge and I need not dilate on them. Maulana Muhammad Ali's activities were not confined to promoting the interests of his Motherland alone. His vision ranged over a yet wider horizon. A Pan-Asiatic Federation was the dream of his life. It is indeed a tragedy that a forceful personality like the late Maulana, who would have played a yet greater part in the more spacious days to come should have been cut off at an age when public men in other countries would be deemed to be in the prime of life. This is one of the tragedies of public life in India, and Maulana Muhammad Ali's early death affords one more instance in this respect.

I recollect with pride the fact that I had the privilege of personal intimacy with the late Maulana. His loss is, therefore, a personal one to me. I should nevertheless say in fairness that I did not see eye to eye with him on public affairs in recent years. That is, however, a negligible matter today because there is no doubt that the Maulana was inspired with the sole desire to serve the public interest even in matters on which they did not agree with him.

Although Maulana Muhammad Ali has died comparatively early, he has left a glorious record of public service behind him, which will enshrine him forever in the hearts of his countrymen while his life and example will be an inspiration to generation yet unborn.

I associate myself whole heartedly with the resolution, which is being moved by Mr Razzak and join my colleagues in conveying our sincere condolence to Mrs. Muhammed Ali, Mr. Shaukat Ali and other members of the family in their bereavement. May the soul of the great man rest in peace.

PARTIAL AMNESTY WORSE THAN USELESS

Statement as President, B.P.C.C. and Mayor of Calcutta, on the Viceroy's decision to release Mahatma Gandhi and other Congress leaders, 25 January 1931.

I shall be failing in my duty if I do not express my appreciation of the generous motive which has inspired His

Excellency the Governor General in ordering the release of other members of the Working Committee. But I do hope that he will have the courage to follow to its logical conclusion the course that he has taken.

I take it that the Working Committee will avail themselves of the earliest opportunity of meeting and discussing the premier's offer soon after their release. If they decide to consider the offer and enter into negotiations for the purpose, it will then be necessary for His Excellency to proclaim a general amnesty.

Of course, if the Working Committee decide to reject the offer summarily, I would not expect the Government to go any further in the matter of granting amnesty. The Working Committee is a small body of 15 members and cannot finally decide an important question like the present one without reference to the All India Congress Committee which is a much larger body consisting of about 350 members.

The All India Congress Committee may, in turn, have to convene a special session of the Congress for finally deciding the question. So many important Congressmen are now in jail who are not members of the Working Committee that unless they are all released, I am afraid it will be impossible for the Congress to come to a decision.

Further, while the negotiations are in progress, a peaceful atmosphere should prevail in the country and for this purpose a general amnesty should be proclaimed simultaneously with the opening of negotiations. This should be accompanied by withdrawal of all repressive measures—for if repression continues throughout the country, all negotiations or attempts at compromise are bound to be fruitless.

I have purposely refrained from stating my views on the merits of the Premier's offer as well as my conception of a real amnesty. I have already issued a statement on these two points which has appeared in yesterday morning's Calcutta papers and I need not repeat what I have said therein. I shall only add that if His Excellency the Governor General is serious about attempting a settlement—he should take courage in both hands to carry to its logical conclusion the course he has adopted and proclaim a

wholesale amnesty of the sort that I suggested. I have no doubt that a partial amnesty will in any case be worse than useless.

THE QUESTION OF AMNESTY

Statement on Mr. Ramsay MacDonald's offer after his release from Alipore Central Jail, 25 January 1931

The offer recently made by the Prime Minister on behalf of the British Cabinet is not such as to evoke enthusiasm on the part of the Indian People. The offer, as it stands, does not give us freedom. It does not even give us the freedom to achieve that ultimate freedom which India, in common with other subject nations in different parts of the world, desires and aspires to. If I understand the mind of Bengal alright, I shall say that an offer so inadequate and unsatisfactory as the present, will be unacceptable to Bengal. And I believe that what appears to me to be the feeling of Bengal in this matter is also the feeling in other parts of the country.

So far as I am concerned, my position has always been unambiguous with regard to the question of India's ideal. I have always honestly believed that full and complete freedom is necessary not only for the good of the Indian people but also in the interests of the Britishers themselves and for the sake of world peace. There is, or at any rate there ought to be, no essential quarrel between the Indian and the Britisher. India and England can and will be friends the moment Indians get those rights in their own land which the Britishers enjoy in Britain. But till India is really or substantially free, peace throughout the world is impossible of achievement. When I moved my amendment in favour of the ideal of Independence at the Calcutta Congress in the year 1928, I did so with a full sense of responsibility and in the belief that I was representing the mind of Bengal. No doubt the amendment was defeated at the Calcutta Congress but only a year later, the Lahore Congress accepted the same ideal and it was in fact adopted by those who had voted against its acceptance at Calcutta. I do not see how the Indian National Congress can at this stage be asked to treat the present offer as the starting point of negotiations for an honourable settlement.

I hope I shall not be misunderstood. I am not against an honourable settlement; on the contrary, I deem it fit and proper to explore to the utmost the possibilities of such a settlement. But all talk of settlement must be preceded by a real change of heart; and nothing can evidence it in a more striking manner than a declaration of wholesale amnesty simultaneously with the opening of negotiations. The amnesty should include detenus confined under the Bengal Ordinance and similar regulations and all political prisoners whether they have been convicted for violent or non-violent offences. With regard to the question of amnesty for revolutionary prisoners convicted for violence, I may say that however much we may condemn violence and deplore violent methods, one cannot ignore the fact that those who have unfortunately followed the path of violence have done it in the belief that they were serving their country according to the best of their lights. Consequently following the Irish precedent of 1921 and amongst others, the case of Commandant Seon McKeon who had been sentenced to death, amnesty be extended to them as well. I desire to add that amnesty should be accompanied by a withdrawal of all conspiracy cases now going on in different parts of the country.

I have no apprehension that workers in the field of labour who are now in jail may be overlooked when the time comes for a declaration of amnesty. I shall therefore draw pointed attention to their case; for, labour has had its share in the movement for Indian liberation. Consequently there should be a withdrawal of the Meerut Conspiracy case as well. If the question of amnesty is not dealt with in the proper spirit, I am afraid that attempts towards a compromise may fail.

THE ROAD TO INDEPENDENCE

Statement issued on the eve of his departure to Bombay

15 March 1931

I am going to stand for Independence till the very last—of that there is not the slightest doubt or hesitation. But unfortunately I am faced with certain conditions which, according to my understanding, can hardly lead us to our cherished goal of Independence. The problem before us is what we should do in the present circumstances so that we may achieve Independence as early as possible. I have already said that I have not as yet been able to make up my mind as to the 'Modus operandi'.

I am going to Bombay to interview Mahatma Gandhi and seek light from him. After that I shall be in a position to decide for myself and tell my countrymen what in the present circumstances is the proper procedure of all of us to adopt in the best interests of our dear Motherland.

DEMAND FOR A GENERAL AMNESTY

Statement on his arrival in Delhi with Mahatmaji,

20 March 1931

I have had long talks with Mahatma Gandhi, both at Bombay and during our journey to Delhi lasting for several hours at a stretch. It is not possible for me to say just at present what attitude I shall take up with regard to the truce terms, until I reach Calcutta. But I would like to bring to the notice of the general public one of the main grievances under which Bengal is now smarting. The amnesty that has been granted to Congress ~~party,~~ has left untouched the very large number of political prisoners numbering about 800 who have suffered and sacrificed, not for any selfish or ignoble cause, but for the liberation of their country. One cannot ignore the fact that there is among the general public in Bengal a very great sympathy for their sufferings and sacrifice even where their methods are not approved. Consequently, until there is a general amnesty embracing in its scope all classes of political prisoners, the public opinion in Bengal cannot be reconciled to the truce terms. This amnesty should be given effect to, at least before the Round Table Conference if not immediately.

Bengal is not the only province which is smarting under this grievance. There are many other provinces, particularly the Punjab and the United Provinces, where amnesty has been of a partial kind. What has added to public discontent and resentment is the fact that in many provinces the local Governments in releasing prisoners, are not giving effect to the terms in the spirit underlying the Gandhi-Irwin pact, and as a result of this several Civil Disobedience and sedition case prisoners are still in jails. Arrests under the Bengal Ordinance have been made under the truce. In Bengal prominent Congressmen like Sj. Satin Sen have not been released yet. In Central Provinces Mr. Avari of Nagpur and the forest Satyagrahis of Betul and Mandla Districts have not been released. In Bombay Presidency sedition prisoners like Mr. Rajah and Mr. Jani have not been released, and the Sholapur and Chirnor Prisoners are still in prison. The Punjab has probably a long list to furnish, and in the United Provinces we cannot forget the Kokori conspiracy prisoners.

In Bengal the political prisoners who have not been released so far numbers 800 and detenus incarcerated without trial number about 450. The undertrial prisoners in the Chittagong Armoury Raid Case, the Meerut Conspiracy Case, The Mymensingh Case, the Dacca Wire Cutting Case, the Munshiganj Postoffice Looting Case, the Rajshahi Mail Robbery Case, the Barisal Dacoity Case and similar Conspiracy cases number over 100. Then there are Convicted Civil Disobedience and Sedition Prisoners numbering about 100 who have not been released so far. The convicted revolutionaries among whom is the Councillor of the Calcutta Corporation, Dr. Narayan Rai, number about 100. Those convicted to technical violence in connection with the Civil Disobedience movement as in the Mymensingh Ware House Case and in the Bhownipore Rioting Case number about 50, and among them is Baba Gurdit Singh. The labour workers convicted in connection with the Lilooah Strike and similar strikes number about 25 and among them are Sj. Shantiram Mondal of Lilooah and Sj. Madan Mohan Barman, Councillor of Calcutta Corporation. The last but not the least are Dinesh Gupta and Ramkrishna Biswas who have been sentenced to death. In Bengal, therefore, the total number of political prisoners who have not been released so far number 800. Consequently, one can easily understand the state of public feeling in Bengal to-day.

I hope whatever provisions are contained in the truce terms, the Government will see their way to declaring a general amnesty embracing all political prisoners including labour prisoners, so that a proper atmosphere may be created in the country, prior to the Round Table Conference.

THE GOAL AND PROGRAMME OF THE FREEDOM STRUGGLE

Presidential address at the Karachi Conference of the All India Naujawan Bharat Sabha, 27 March 1931

Friends and comrades,

Today we are meeting under the shadow of a great tragedy. Our minds are too full to speak. At such a critical moment in the history of our country, you have asked me to preside over your conference. For this I feel grateful to you.

We are concerned here with the consideration of that socio-economic structure and body politic which will help to foster manhood and develop character and the will to translate into reality the highest ideal of collective humanity. We are also interested here in investigating the methods that will bring about the earliest attainment of this goal. I am led to the conclusion that the principles which should form the basis of our collective life are justice, equality, freedom, discipline and love. Therefore, in order to ensure equality, we must get rid of bondage of every kind—social, economic and political—and we must become fully and wholly free.

To summarize what I have said, I want a Socialist Republic in India. The message I have to give is one of complete, all-round, undiluted freedom. Until the radical or revolutionary elements are stirred up we cannot get freedom, and we cannot stir up the revolutionary elements among us except by inspiring them with a new message which comes from the heart and goes straight to the heart.

The fundamental weakness in the Congress policy and programme is that there is a great deal of vagueness and mental reservation in the minds of the leaders. Their programme is based not on radicalism but on adjustments—adjustments between landlord and the tenant, between the capitalist and the wage-earner, between the so-called upper classes and the so-called depressed classes, between men and women.

I do not believe that the Congress programme can win freedom for India. The programme by which I believe freedom can be achieved is:

(1) Organization of peasants and workers on a socialistic programme.
(2) Organization of youth into Volunteer Corps under strict discipline.
(3) Abolition of the caste system and the eradication of social and religious superstitions of all kinds.
(4) Organization of women's associations for getting our womenfolk to accept the gospel and work out the new programme.
(5) Intensive programme for boycott of British goods.
(6) Creation of new literature for propagating the new cult and programme.

Before referring to the Gandhi-Irwin truce, I must say something about the Lahore executions. Bhagat Singh was a symbol of the spirit of revolt which has taken possession of the country from one end to the other. That spirit is unconquerable and the flame which that spirit has lit up will not die. India may have to lose many more sons before she can hope to be free. These recent executions are to me sure indications that there has been no change of heart on the side of the Government and the time for an honourable settlement has not arrived as yet.

With regard to the truce embodied in the Gandhi-Irwin Pact, I may say that it is exceedingly unsatisfactory and highly disappointing. What pains me most is the consideration that at the time this Pact was drawn up we actually had more strength than would appear from the contents of the document. The Pact has inherent weakness, but now that the truce is an accomplished fact the question before us is what is to be done at this stage. I do not for one moment question the patriotism of those who are responsible for the truce terms. Consequently the best course for us will be to do some positive work which will strengthen the nation and the nation's demand. For this purpose I have outlined my programme which the more radical sections among our countrymen will do well to adopt and carry out. This will avoid unnecessary conflict with the Congress leaders at a time when such conflict may tend to weaken the people and strengthen the Government. Above all, let us have restraint and self-control even when we have to criticise others. We shall lose nothing by being courteous and restrained, and we may gain much.

India is the key-stone to the world edifice and a free India spells the destruction of Imperialism throughout the world. Let us, therefore, rise to the occasion and make India free so that humanity may be saved.

INDIA'S HISTORIC MISSION

Speech at All India Naujawan Bharat Sabha in Karachi, 5 April 1931

My Dear Friends,

You have called upon me to preside over the deliberations of the second session of All-India Naujawan Bharat Sabha at Karachi. I am grateful to you, not only for the honour you have done me by your selection but also for the affection that has undoubtedly inspired your choice. You are holding this conference at a momentous period in our history and I only hope that I shall be able to throw some light on the problems that are ahead of us and the path that we shall have to travel.

Since the earliest ages humanity has been in search of a better order of things. This search has gone on alike in the East and in the West and not only sages and dreamers, but politicians and statesmen as well, have been after it. The vision of an ideal society or state has appeared in different forms in different climes, but the impulse behind them all has been the same. In the East people dreamt of an ideal republic. People have sometimes endeavoured to go back to the state of nature from whence they think they came—at other times, they have tried to demolish the agelong social, economic & political structure in order to rear up something great and noble on the ruin of the past.

The psychological impulse behind this universal human effort is a feeling of acute discontent with the present order and environment and a desire for a radical change. Urged by this impulse people have in utter helplessness looked beyond this earth and beyond this human existence to a kingdom of heaven where the human soul could live an ideal life amidst ideal surroundings. Others have followed a different course of action and believing that the kingdom of heaven is within us, have sought, through ascetism and worship, or through song and prayer, to attain the maximum peace and happiness here on earth.

We are not concerned with these two schools of thought and we need neither accept nor reject either of them. We are concerned more with the consideration of that Socio-economic structure and body-politic which will bring us the maximum happiness, will help us to foster manhood and develop character and will translate into reality the highest ideals of collective humanity. We are also interested in investigating the methods that will bring about the earliest attainment of the above goal.

In the search for a better order humanity has throughout the ages, been groping in the twilight of darkness and light. Religion, philosophy and literature have all tried to

throw some light on that elusive will-O'-the-wisp—the Ideal. It would be interesting to trace and study these efforts made in almost every civilised country from age to age but that would take too much time and may divert us from the immediate problem before us. It will suffice to say that mankind has now accepted the theory of progress and has rejected the opposite theory viz., the theory of man's fall and his subsequent degradation. This theory of progress may be made the starting point of our discussion.

If we undertake a comparative analysis of the different socio-political ideals that have inspired human endeavour and activity we shall arrive at certain common principles. The same result may be attained by searching our heart and asking ourselves as to what principles and ideals would make our life worth living. By following either course I am led to the conclusion that the principles that should form the basis of our collective life are—justice, equality, freedom, discipline and love. There is hardly any necessity of arguing that all our affairs and relations should be guided by a sense of justice. In order to be just and impartial, we shall have to treat all men as equal. In order to make men equal we shall have to make them free. Bondage within the socio-economic or political system—robs men of their freedom and gives rise to inequalities of various kinds. Therefore, in order to ensure Equality, we must get rid of bondage of every kind—social, economic and political—and we must become fully and wholly free. But freedom does not mean indiscipline or license. Freedom does not imply the absence of law. It only means the substitution of our own law and our own discipline in a place of an externally imposed law and discipline. Discipline imposed on us by ourselves is necessary not only when we have attained freedom but is more necessary when we are struggling to achieve freedom. Therefore discipline, whether for the individual of for society, is necessary as a basis of life. Lastly all these fundamental principles viz., Justice, Equality, Freedom and Discipline—presuppose or imply another higher principle viz., Love. Unless we are inspired by a feeling of love for humanity we can neither be just towards all, nor treat men as Equal, nor feel called upon to suffer and sacrifice in the cause of freedom nor enforce discipline of the right sort. These five principles therefore, should in my opinion be the basis of our collective life. I shall go further and say that these principles constitute the essence of Socialism as I understand it, and the Socialism that I would like to see established in India.

I believe that in the future that is before us India will be able to evolve a socio-economic political structure which will be in many respects an object lesson to the world just as Bolshevism today has many useful lessons for humanity. But I do not believe that abstract principles can be applied in the same manner, form and degree to different nations or countries. Marxian principles when applied to Russia and Russian conditions gave birth to Bolshevism. Similarly socialism when applied to India and Indian conditions will develop a new form or type of socialism which we may hail as Indian Socialism. Environment, racial temperament, socio-economic conditions all these can not be ruled out by a stroke of the pen. They are therefore bound to influence or modify any principle that is sought to be translated into reality.

While seeking light and inspiration from abroad, we cannot afford to forget that we should not blindly imitate any other people and that we should assimilate what we learn elsewhere with a view to finding out what will suit our national requirements as well as our national genius. There is a great deal of truth in the proverb—"What is one man's meat is another's poison." I should therefore like to strike a note of warning to those who may feel tempted to follow blindly the tenets and methods of Bolshevism. With regard to the tenets of Bolshevism I may say that Bolshevik theory is at present going through an experimental stage. There has been a departure not only from the original theory of Marx but also from the principle enunciated by Lenin and other Bolsheviks before they captured political power. This departure has been caused by the peculiar conditions or circumstances prevailing in Russia which have compelled a modification of original Marxian or Bolshevik theory. With regards to the methods and tactics employed by the Bolsheviks in Russia I may say

that they will not necessarily suit Indian conditions. As a proof of this I may say that inspite of universal and human appeal of communism, communism has not been able to make much headway in India—chiefly because the methods and tactics generally employed by them are such as tend to alienate rather than win over possible friends and allies.

To summarise what I have said I want a Socialist republic in India. The exact form the Socialist State will take—it is not possible to detail at this stage. We now only outline the main principles and features of the socialist state.

The message which I have to give is one of complete, all-around undiluted freedom. We want political freedom, whereby is meant the constitution of an independent Indian State, free from the control of British Imperialism. It should be quite clear to everybody that independence means severance from the British Empire and on this point there should be no vagueness or mental reservation. Secondly, we want complete economic emancipation. Every human being must have the right to work and the right to a living wage. There shall be no drones in our society. There must be equal opportunities for all. Above all there should be a fair, just and equitable distribution of wealth. For this purpose it may be necessary for the state to take over the control of the means of production and distribution of wealth. Thirdly, we want complete social equality. There shall be no caste, no depressed classes. Every man will have the same rights—the same status—in the society. Further there shall be no inequality between the sexes either in social status or in law—and woman will be in every way an equal partner with man.

We therefore have a new message for every group or class or individual in society who may be exploited or oppressed in any way. We have a message for the political workers, for the wage earner, for the landless and propertyless proletariat, for the so-called depressed classes in society and for the weaker sex. These exploited or oppressed classes represent the radical—or if I may say so—revolutionary elements in our society. If we can go out to greet them with a new message—the message of complete all-round freedom—I have no doubt that they can be inspired in no time. Until these radical or revolutionary elements are stirred up—we cannot get freedom—and we cannot stir up the revolutionary elements among us except by inspiring them with a new message which comes from the heart and goes straight to the heart.

The fundamental weakness in the Congress policy and programme is that there is a great deal of vagueness and mental reservation in the minds of the leaders. Further the programme is based not on radicalism but on adjustment. Adjustment between the landlord and the tenant, between the capitalist and the wage earner, between the so-called upper classes and the so-called depressed classes, between man and woman—may be an ideal state of thing for one who would like to maintain the present equilibrium—but I am doubtful whether this adjustment can stir up the revolutionary elements in society which alone can win freedom of the Indian National Congress with its present attitude of the adjustment in all controversial matters—can win independence for India; it will be a cheap price to pay for freedom. But whether this small price can bring us freedom—I seriously doubt.

We do not want to tinker with the gigantic problem we have to solve—therefore, we want a radical militant programme. I shall not in this introductory address go into details on this question, but shall content myself with out-lining the main features of the programme. In consonance with 5 principles I have enunciated at the outset, and keeping in view the different aspects of freedom—we should direct our activities along the following lines :—

(1) Organisation of peasants and workers as a socialist programme.

(2) Organisation of the youths into volunteer corps under strict discipline.

(3) Abolition of caste and the eradication of social and religious superstitions of all kinds.

(4) Organisation of women's associations for getting our women folk to accept the new gospel and work out the new programme.

(5) Intensive campaign for the boycott of British goods.

(6) Countrywide propaganda for explaining the new cult and for organising a new party.

(7) Creation of a new Literature for propagating the new cult and programme.

Workers and comrades to whom the new cult and programme appeals should seriously consider whether or not they should organise themselves as the Left-Wing of the Indian National Congress. There is much to be said in favour of doing so. The Indian National Congress in the first place has a tradition as well as an international reputation. Further, it is built on the gigantic sacrifices made by successive generations. And if the Left-Wing is properly organised, I have no doubt that the time will soon come when they will be called upon by the sheer logic of events to take charge of the Congress. Once this party comes into existence with its own programme it will be the only alternative to the present order and the present programme.

Friends, before I wind up, you will no doubt like me to express my views on the truce that has been arrived at, between the Government and the Working Committee of the Congress. But before I do so, I should like to unburden myself on a matter which has profoundly moved the whole of India. I mean the recent execution of Sirdar Bhagat Singh and his comrades. This event is an historic one and is pregnant with lessons for the future and I shall crave your indulgence for dwelling on it at length.

Bhagat Singh is dead! Long live Bhagat Singh! For months and months have the people of India watched and waited with tense anxiety for the end of the tragic drama that was being enacted at Lahore. The end has atlast come. The curtain has ultimately been rung down on a scene indescribable for its deep pathos and memorable for its selflessness. From start to finish the drama has been so rich in variety and so alive in its colouring that we have had to hold our breath in awe and anxious expectation. It ended with the self-sacrifice of Bhagat Singh and Jatin Das. With rapture and reverend admiration do we gaze at these two rare types of martyrdom which recent history has produced. Just as the funeral procession of Jatin Das was one long triumphal march—so also the execution of Bhagat Singh is an act of consecration which will inspire the whole nation. No wonder that the Lahore Conspiracy here have stirred the heart of India to its very depth. But do the Government realise it ? Again I say "Bhagat Singh is dead ! Long live Bhagat Singh !" Bhagat Singh is not a person. He symbolises the spirit of revolt which has taken possesion of the country from one end to the other. The spirit is unconquerable, the flame that spirit has lit up will not die. Therefore we do not grieve that Bhagat Singh, Rajguru and Sukhdev are no more. India may have to lose many more sons before she can hope to be free. But if we grieve it is because they have had to die at a time when the premier nationalist organisation in the country—the Indian National Congress—has declared a truce with the British Government. What fate is in store for the other sons of India, like Harkishinalal, Dinesh Gupta and Ramkrishna Biswas can not be easily visualised. The question may therefore be pertinently asked what is the value of this truce if these acts of hostility are to go on and if we cannot save the lives of our best heroes ?

It may be argued logically that there was nothing in the truce terms to say that the Capital sentences would not be given effect to. I admit this point. But may we not ask what the object of the truce is ? It will be admitted on all hands that the object of the truce is to bring about an atmosphere of peace and goodwill, prior to the negotiations at the Round Table Conference, so that the discussions take place in a cool and dispassionate manner, and without bitterness or prejudice. Will that atmosphere be created if capital sentences are passed and executed and if a large number of political prisoners are still in imprisonment ? If the Government today are so exacting about the letter of the truce terms—if they are so keen about having their pound of flesh—what hope is here that they will part with power when the time for negotiation or discussion arrives ? It is not for nothing that Mahatma Gandhi has always insisted on a change of heart prior to a settlement or negotiations for a settlement. The Government that continues to have the same bureaucratic, and if I may say so vindictive mentality is not the Government that will voluntarily hand over India to the people's representatives. It may be urged that we shall negotiate for transference of power not with the Indian Civil Service or the Government of India, but with the British Cabinet or with the British people altogether. But if in the matter of holding an enquiry into police excess or commuting death sentence the British Government has to surrender to the will of man on the spot, it is not to be expected that in much larger questions involving transference of power, the same Government will be guided to a very large extent by the will of the steel frame ?

The recent executions are to me, therefore, a sure indication that there has been no change of heart on the side of the Government. The time for an honourable settlement is not yet ripe. We have yet to travel a long way along the path of suffering and sacrifice before we can hail the advent of Swaraj. A page from recent Irish History will substantiate my point. Alderman MacSweeney Lord Mayor of Cork, went on hunger strike as a protest against his imprisonment. When he was on the point of death, passionate appeals were made to His Majesty the King on behalf of Britishers and Irishmen alike asking him to exercise his royal prerogative and save MacSweeney's life. The King was deeply moved but announced through his Secretary that he was unable to do anything because his ministers were opposed to clemency. The King therefore had to capitulate. The effect of this in Ireland was that the fight with Britain went on with increasing bitterness. After some time both parties felt it desirable to call a truce and settlement. The question of amnesty to political prisoners was then broached and the Sinn Fein leaders demanded the release of all prisoners, including those who had been sentenced to death. The British Cabinet agreed to release every body except Seon McKeon who had been condemned to death. The Sinn-Fein leaders thereupon threatened to break off the truce if Seon McKeon was not released within twentyfour hours. In reply to ultimatum, the same Cabinet which had declined to spare the life of Terence MacSweeny inspite of country-wide agitation, released Seon McKeon within twenty four hours. MacSweeney had to die because the time for settlement had not arrived. Seon McKeon was saved because there was going to be a lasting peace and a change of heart had taken place on the side of the British people. May we not apply the same moral to Indian History?

Brave as Bhagat Singh and his comrades were, they did not ask for clemency. They had resolved to give their all, so that India could be free. But the whole country desired their lives to be spared. If truce had been declared, if peace was within sight then the lives of these brave and selfless men could be transformed and could be utilised in the task of national reconstruction. The whole country, including all parties and shades of opinion had given unmistakable expression to the desire and demand for commutation. But if every possible effort had been made on the side of the people their was one more effort which could have been made. When the negotiations for a truce were going on, the Congress as the one representative nationalist organisation in the country could have espoused the cause of the revolutionaries and of the Labour party of India. The Congress need not thereby have identified itself with the methods or tactics of the revolutionaries of the Labour Party. It could have simply pointed out that since these two parties existed and since they were also working for the salvation of India according to their own light, abiding peace could not possibly be established until they were somehow made parties to it.

A generous gesture on the part of Government at this juncture would have had a most wholesome effect on these two parties and on the country at large. If after a generous gesture coming from the aftical side—any group, party or individual did not reciprocate it, then that group or individual would stand condemned in the eyes of the whole world. The Government with all its strength and resources would in either case have lost nothing if by conciliation they could placate all the militant parties in the country, it would be a moral triumph for them. If conciliation failed, they could once again resort to repression and could then do so with greater justification.

If the Government have blundered, so also has the Congress. During the truce-talks the Congress could have spoken for the whole country, just as Sinn Fein had spoken for the whole of Ireland without identifying itself with the methods of the revolutionary and Labour parties, the Congress could very well have identified itself with their demands. But the Congress failed to do so and in failing it has only lowered itself in the estimation of the country and of the world. A similar attitude could have been adopted by the Congress after the petition for the commutation of the death sentences passed on Bhagat Singh and others rejected by the Government.

If the Congress had officially demanded the commutation of the death sentences it would not have lost anything but have risen in the estimation of the whole country and might possibly have saved the life of Bhagat Singh. Even if the demand had been rejected by the Govt., the Congress would have had this satisfaction that it had done its duty and no one could then have nursed any complaint or grievance against the Congress for not doing its best to have Bhagat Singh and his comrades.

With regard to the truce embodied in what is known as the Gandhi-Irwin Pact I may say that it is exceedingly unsatisfactory and highly disappointing. What pains me most is the consideration that at the time this pact was drawn up, we actually had more strength than would appear from the contents of the document. I shall here summarise some of the unsatisfactory features of the truce terms :—

(1) Ordinances like the Bengal Ordinance (Bengal Criminal Amendment Act) and the Burma Ordinance whereby people are incarcerated without trial on mere suspicion have not been repealed.

(2) Provisions for the return of fines and of confiscated property are not satisfactory.

(3) The demand for the enquiry into the police excesses should not have been given up, particularly after it

was made on behalf of the Congress. Further the Congress should have stood by Garhwalis who refused to fire on unarmed people and the policemen who were dismissed on political grounds. The Government refused to let down their own men inspite of the many excesses committed by them whereas the Congress did not stand by their own men.

(4) The Congress should not have given up the boycott of British goods—particularly when this does not form part of the Civil Disobedience movement. In normal times before the Civil Disobedience was started last year we could carry on the Boycott of British Goods, but unfortunately now we cannot. Therefore we are now in a worse position after the Civil Disobedience Movement than we were before it.

(5) The provisions for the manufacture of salt are not adequate—since salt could be manufactured only within a limited area.

(6) The restrictions that have been agreed to in connection with picketing places us in a more difficult position than before the Civil Disobedience Movement was started last year. If these restrictions are strictly adhered to it will be difficult, if not impossible, to have picketing at all.

(7) Above all, the provisions regarding amnesty are exceedingly unsatisfactory. In the first place all Civil Disobedience prisoners have not so far been released. Further we cannot, under the truce terms claim amnesty for revolutionary and Labour party prisoners. The hanging orders will not be stopped—the different conspiracy cases like Chittagong Armoury Raid case and Meerut conspiracy case are to go on. Political prisoners who had been in prison for 10 or 12 years like the Martial law prisoners in the Punjab are to remain in jail. Last but not the least, the Bengal detenus imprisoned as detained without trial are not to be released. What then is the value of this amnesty. I should further point out that the distinction between violent and non-violent prisoners now made by the Congress is a new stunt. It was not made in the Delhi Manifesto in 1929 nor was it made in the celebrated eleven points of Mahatma Gandhi.

It does not require any further argument to expose the satisfactory character of the truce term. On perusing the document one cannot help feeling that it was agreed to with a defeatist mentality on the side of the Congress and the language at several places militates against our sense of self respect and honour. If we really had been in a weak position when the truce was arrived at—I would not have made much protest—but were we really so weak at that time ? I doubt it.

But the truce is now an accomplished fact and the question is that we should ponder very carefully before we take any aggressive step. Instead of wasting our energy in negative criticism, let us do something positive and beneficial. I do not for one moment question the patriotism of those who are responsible for the truce terms. Far from it, consequently the best course for us to do would be some positive work which will further strengthen the nation and the nation's demands. For this purpose at the very outset I have indicated the outlines of a new programme which the more radical section among our country would do well to adopt and carry out. This will avoid unnecessary conflict with the Congress leaders at a time when such conflict may tend to weaken the people and strengthen the Government. Above all let us have restraint and self-control even when we have to criticise others. We shall lose nothing by being courteous and restrained and we may gain much. If we believe in our programme let us carry it out to the best of our ability. If our programme is based on truth it is bound to be accepted by our countrymen in the long run for truth will ultimately prevail in this world. Friends, I have taken up a lot of your valuable time but I have done. Let us address ourselves to our task in all seriousness, with unflinching courage but in all humility. The vision of free India, a completely free and emancipated India is what has captivated my soul. It is the dream of my life and the goal of all my activities. India has much to contribute to the culture and civilization of the world. The whole world is anxiously awaiting that gift. And the last gift which India will make to the world is a new socio-economic order and a body politic which will have lessons for the whole of humanity. India is the key stone of the world edifice and free India spells the destruction of Imperialism throughout the world. Let us therefore rise to the occasion and make India free so that humanity may be saved.

THE TASK BEFORE BENGAL CONGRESSMEN

Statement to the press in New Delhi on the election of B.P.C.C., 11 April 1931

I earnestly hope that after the happy termination of the Karachi Congress disputes in Bengal will end once for all. The whole country realises that the fight for freedom is not over and it is, therefore, imperative on our part to sink our differences, if any, and present a united front to the bureaucracy. But unity in the Congress will be ineffectual unless the same spirit pervades our provincial and local organisation as well.

Happily Congress elections are going to be held soon and Bengal will now have an opportunity of reconstituting the Provincial Congress Committee. I have always looked upon the Provincial Congress Committee as the supreme political organisation in Bengal and I have endeavoured to the best of my ability to uphold the prestige and maintain the solidarity and discipline of this body. This task has not always been a pleasant or easy one for me; but I believe that political life and activity are not possible in a province unless the prestige, solidarity and discipline of the Provincial Congress Committee are maintained. Whoever may be in charge of that body at any time will have to discharge this responsibility fearlessly.

It is hardly necessary for me to add that so far as it lies in our power the B.P.C.C. Executive will see to it that elections are conducted in a thoroughly just, fair and impartial manner. All facilities will be given to bonafide congressmen to enlist Congress members and it is hoped that District Congress Committees will also extend full facilities to Congressmen within their jurisdiction in enrolling Congress members. In the reconstruction of the B.P.C.C. executive and in co-option of members to the B.P.C.C. fullest consideration will be given to the desire and wishes of District Congress Committees and their representatives on the B.P.C.C.

It is a matter of deep regret that at Karachi representations were made to the Working Committee to the effect that a referee should be appointed for supervising the coming elections in Bengal. Such representation was made to the Working Committee only on behalf of Bengal, as if among the provinces Bengal alone cannot manage her elections. Such a request did injustice to Bengal, particularly when on the last occasion Pandit Motilal Nehru, after a most searching enquiry, upheld practically all that the B.P.C.C. had done. Fortunately the Working Committee turned down the proposal of that kind, and I am glad to say that we have been assured by Mahatma Gandhi himself that he will do his best to help the work of the B.P.C.C, and he hopes that the Working Committee will do no less.

I hope and pray that we may all be inspired by the thought that in Bengal it is the B.P.C.C. that is the supreme political organisation and it is for this body to decide how our services are to be utilised for public good. I believe that if we are all inspired by this thought we shall be able to compose any differences that we may have and present a united front to the bureaucracy.

APPEAL FOR UNITY

Statement dated 13 April 1931

I have returned to Calcutta with the determination that I will do my very best to end the domestic quarrels in Bengal. This is required in order that Bengal may make her maximum contribution to the national movement and in order that she may get full credit for what she actually accomplishes. There is no doubt that owing to domestic quarrels Bengal has lost its prestige and it is imperative that we should end this state of things without delay. With this object I desire to explore all the grievances that any group or individual may have and try my level best to remedy them.

I have already said in a statement that I issued before yesterday that the only solution of our disputes lies in recognising, the Bengal Provincial Congress Committee as the supreme political organisation in this province. It is the duty of every Congress worker to place his services unreservedly at the disposal of the Bengal Provincial Congress Committee and it is for that body to decide how and in what capacity our services should be utilised. No rival bodies, whether in the province or in the districts should exist because these bodies only serve to undermine the prestige, influence and solidarity of the Congress organisation in the country.

My personal view is that political workers should, except under very exceptional circumstances, avoid positions or posts which carry emoluments or honour. I myself have never in the past sought any office myself and I hope that I shall never do so in future. Unfortunately last year circumstances compelled me to stand for the Mayoralty. The idea of the Bengal Provincial Congress Committee was that the Mayoralty should not be the monopoly of one person and it was intended to put up Dr. B.C. Roy for the Mayoralty. After much dispute the Congress Municipal Party in April 1930 unanimously passed a compromise resolution to the effect that in April Mr. J.M. Sen Gupta would be elected Mayor and in the event of a re-election, Dr. B.C. Roy would be elected Mayor the next time. This arrangement had the approval of the B.P.C.C. Unfortunately when the time for re-election came, an attempt was made by a section of the Congress Municipal Party to set at nought the compromise resolution previously adopted by the Municipal Party and put up Mr. Sen Gupta for the Mayoralty once again. This was the last act in a series of revolts against the Bengal Provincial Congress Committee. This last revolt the Provincial Congress Committee could not take lying down if it did not want to abdicate its functions. Consequently in the interests of the discipline and solidarity of the Congress organisation in Bengal it was considered necessary to put me up for the Aldermanship and Mayoralty as against Mr Sen Gupta.

The situation has changed now and it is no longer necessary for me to be the Mayor. I thereupon gladly proposed at the party meeting that Dr. B.C. Roy should be our nominee for the Mayoralty for the ensuing year. He is in every way fit for the honour and I have no doubt that he will do justice to the high office. This arrangement will enable me to devote my whole time and energy to Congress work in and outside Bengal and I feel that in the days that are before us we shall have to strain every nerve if we have to keep the Congress banner flying.

I also feel that this decision will incidentally help to clear the atmosphere in Bengal and thereby help in restoring unity within the ranks of the Congress. I would like every Congress worker to demonstrate that his sole object is to serve the public and not to hanker after or hold any office, except when that is actually thrust on him. There can be no question or rivalry or competition among genuine national workers. The only competition, if there is any, is competition in service and suffering. And so far as I am concerned, the only throne that I care for is in the hearts of my countrymen.

SETTLEMENT OF SYLHET CONGRESS DISPUTE

Statement as President, BPCC, to the press on 17 April 1931

I have great pleasure in announcing that we have been able to make some headway in the matter of settling the domestic disputes in Sylhet. After consulting the representatives of both parties in Sylhet, the following arrangements have been arrived at on the basis of mutual approval. This arrangement, when given effect to, will bring about not only a healthy reorganisation of the District Congress Committee of Sylhet but a settlement of the dispute as well.

(1) In view of the coming re-election of the District Congress Committee of Sylhet, the B.P.C.C. will not take up the consideration of the complaint that has been filed. In the meantime the old Congress Committee of which Sj. Harendra Chowdhury is the Secretary, will continue to function as the valid Congress Committee.

(2) In order to remove once for all possible grounds of complaint membership books signed by the Secretary of the Sylhet District Congress Committee will be issued to Sj. Brojendra Narayan Chowdhury of Sylhet in addition to those issued to the Secretary of the Sylhet Congress Committee.

(3) The annual general meeting of the Sylhet District Congress Committee will be held on the 10th May, 1931 at Sylhet. The president of the B.P.C.C. will preside at this meeting so that both parties may feel satisfied. He will ask the Secretary of the Sylhet District Congress Committee to convene this meeting in proper time and fix a suitable time and place for the meeting.

(4) After the reorganisation of the Sylhet District Congress Committee the newly formed committee will arrange for the election of members to the B.P.C.C.

(5) Those who will be enlisted as members up to the 3rd May, 1931 will be entitled to vote at the annual general meeting on the 10th May.

(6) The list of members enrolled up to the 3rd May will reach the office of the District Congress Committee on the 5th May at the latest along with counterfoils and the subscriptions if any. The President of the B.P.C.C. will depute a responsible person to scrutinize the electoral roll and deal with any objections regarding the electoral roll that may be raised. He will also decide whether a particular branch Congress Committee is affiliated to the District Congress Committee or not. In the event of his deciding that a particular branch Congress Committee is not affiliated, any member belonging to that branch Committee will have to deposit the full subscription at the office of the District Congress Committee, if he decides to exercise his franchise.

I hope both the parties in Sylhet will try to make a clean sweep of the past and settle their differences. My

services will be at their disposal in bringing about a rapproachment. A reconciliation has become urgently necessary in view of the important problems that are confronting Sylhet now.

With regard to Faridpur, complaints have recently been brought to my notice. I have already assured the complainants personally that I shall do my best to bring about a reconciliation. I only hope that they will give me time and in the meantime they will see to it that there is no further bitterness among Faridpur Congressmen.

ON THE WORK OF S.C. CHATTERJEE, RENOWNED INDIAN ARCHITECT

Speech as outgoing Mayor, 19 April 1931

I have every hope that in the future that is before us, the Calcutta Corporation will more and more follow the lead given by Mr. Chatterjee and thereby advance the cause of Indian Architecture.

Before I had the privilege of meeting Mr. Srish Chandra Chatterjee, the famous Indian architect, I used to wonder when India would be able to evolve a distinctive School of Architecture, just as she had succeeded in developing a new School of Printing. Soon after this I came across some articles of Mr. Chatterjee in the paper and I have discussed with him and the more I have done so, the more has my admiration for him deepened.

Mr. Chatterjee appeared before us just in time as the pioneer of a new school of Architecture, distinctively Indian in character. He is fully responsive to western and other foreign influences but after assimilating these and after adapting himself to modern conditions, he is able to give something new to India and to the world.

It is gratifying to all Indians, to learn that Mr Chatterjee had recently been to America with the noble object of popularising Indian Architecture there and that he was able to create a very good impression. Since Mr Chatterjee appeared before the public, the Building Department of the Corporation of Calcutta has been steadily coming under his influence and the official organ of the Corporation the Calcutta Municipal Gazette has been giving full publicity to his writings.

Though I am a layman, I have followed Mr Chatterjee's career with very great interest and I shall continue to do so in future. And I wish him success with all my heart for I know that his success means the furtherance of the Renaissance of Indian Architecture and a further enrichment of the civilisation of the world.

THE DREAM OF MY LIFE

Speech in Ambika Memorial Hall of Faridpur on 20 April 1931

It was a memorable day in my life when I discarded the beaten track pursuing a life of ease and luxury and took a plunge into the unknown which has a special attraction for the youth in all ages and climes. Since that day I never regretted that decision. You may ask why I took that decision. It was because I was possessed by a glorious dream which conjured up the visions of Mother India being free from all shackles imposed on her by alien rulers and occupying a glorious position in the comity of nations; and if that day never comes in my life when I shall see my dream realised, I shall be content to leave it as a legacy for my countrymen to fulfil.

Dreamers have everywhere built up destinies of nations. Mazzini was dubbed a mad man when he gave expressions of his dream of free Italy. Persecutions came thick and swift on him, persecutions of those powers that did not like those youngmen whose musings were unknown and they felt instinctively that these apparently meaningless dream contained in them seeds which would in course of time assume serious proportions and threaten their very existence. That is why I choose to follow the lines of my

dream and discarded the temptation for power and position.

SETTLEMENT OF FARIDPUR CONGRESS DISPUTE

Statement on the settlement of the outstanding differences among Congress workers in the district of Faridpur on 23 April 1931

In view of the present situation in the country which demands a closing up of the ranks of Congressmen, it is necessary that Faridpur Congressmen should make up their differences and set up a strong and well-knit Congress organisation in the district. With a view to this end I have discussed with representatives of both parties in Faridpur the question of effecting a settlement of the outstanding differences. The following arrangement which has the approval and support of both parties is a satisfactory solution of the problem and represents the compromise that is arrived at between both the parties.

(1) The election petitions or complaints filed on behalf of the oppositionists against the District Congress Committee elected in January 1931, will be withdrawn.

(2) The said District Congress Committee elected in January last will continue to function as the valid Faridpur District Congress Committee.

(3) There will be re-election of the District Congress Committee in June next.

(4) Prior to this general election, facilities for enrolling members will be given till May 25, 1931. Those who become members by the 25th May next, will be entitled to vote at the next District Congress election.

(5) The District Congress Committee will take cognisance of the grievances that has arisen owing to the abolition of the Bhanga Sub-Divisional Congress Committee and its absorption in the Sadar Sub-Divisional Congress Committee and will again make Bhanga a separate congress Sub-division prior to the next district election.

It is hoped that the above arrangement will remove the outstanding complaint and grievances and will at the same time maintain the prestige and discipline of the District Congress Committee. It is further hoped that this arrangement represents a change of heart on both sides, unity and strength of the District Congress Committee and will enhance its prestige to the public at large.

I shall personally do all in my power to see that there is no ground for complaint in the appointment of Returning Officers for the District Congress election. I shall also do my best to see that if any election disputes arise full justice is done to the complainants.

THE MYMENSINGH EPISODE AND AFTER

Statement issued to the press in Calcutta on 25 April 1931

I have been pained to read in this morning's papers about the happenings at Mymensingh. It is not possible to form an accurate opinion on the basis of what has appeared in the press as to what exactly has happened or as to what the deeper causes may be. But from the reports as well as from enquiries made the following facts stand out :—

At Netrokona two Conferences were to be held, the Political Sufferers' Conference to be presided over by Sj. J.M. Sengupta and the District Students' Conference to be presided over by Sj. Purna Chandra Das. Misunderstandings arose when an attempt was made to hamper the work of the District Students' Conference at Netrokona by organising a rival Students' Conference at Mymensingh. This was strongly resented by the bulk of the students. Before Sj. Sengupta arrived as also after his arrival at Mymensingh, the organisers of the original Conference who felt aggrieved that Sj. Sengupta should have inadvertently allowed himself to be used for the purpose of undermining the original Conference requested him to bring about a compromise. They even went so far as to offer him the presidentship of the original Students' Conference at Netrokona in order to bring about a compromise. Why Sj. Sengupta did not bring about a compromise on the basis of this offer it is difficult to tell from a distance. Sj. Sengupta has said in his statement that he was prepared to abandon the Conference at Mymensingh for the sake of a compromise; but the Reception Committee of Mymensingh stood in his way. Probably, if he had been firm and had used his powers of persuasion with the Reception Committee he might have succeeded in effecting a compromise. In that case Sj. Sen Gupta could not have presided over both the Conferences at Netrokona and his position would have been a unique one. Unfortunately he could not overcome the influence of the rival faction at Mymensingh.

I am deeply pained that disputes among the students should have resulted in disrespect and discourtesy being shown towards Sj. Sen Gupta. Ever since the time when disrespect was publicly shown to Dr. B.C. Roy by some youngmen at Calcutta in connection with the Mayoral election last year, I have been grieved at the indiscipline that has been overtaking our youngmen. In these circumstances the duty of responsible leaders is clear. They should refuse to preside over any conference where party feeling runs so high that ordinary decencies of public life are forgotten.

I am sorry that in the statement of Sj. Sen Gupta that has appeared in the press there is a remark about the B.P.C.C., which amounts to an insinuation about the Executive of the B.P.C.C. The B.P.C.C. is a body composed of representatives from all districts in Bengal representing different groups and parties. If some B.P.C.C. members have leanings in one direction, other members of the B.P.C.C. have leanings in an opposite direction. The dispute among the students at Mymensingh is entirely a local one and the public may not have forgotten the disputes among the students at the Provincial Students' Conference held at Mymensingh in 1929. To insinuate that the office-bearers of the B.P.C..C. have anything to do with the local disputes at Mymensingh is unfair and altogether unworthy of the person who makes it. Such insinuation is not conducive to the promotion of good will.

The public are aware that a serious attempt is going on all over Bengal to restore unity within the ranks of Congressmen. The success that we have achieved so far in dealing with the Sylhet and Fairdpur disputes have encouraged and emboldened all lovers of peace. I hope that they will not feel discouraged at the happenings at Mymensingh because these incidents must be a passing phase. I would request all Congressmen in Mymensingh not to allow the dispute among the students to affect them in any way and I would earnestly appeal to put their hearts together and bring about a compromise among the students.

ELECTION TO KUSTHIA MUNICIPALITY

Appeal to the voters of Kusthia, 10 May 1931

The Congress has decided to take up in its own hands the Municipal Administration of Kushtia. If there be any institution which represents the millions of India, it is the Congress, for the ideal of the Congress is the ideal of the masses. People in general want full independence. The Congress under the leadership of Mahatma Gandhi has declared that achievement of independence is its ideal and that it is determined to achieve that ideal in practice. The achievement of full independence means the emancipation of the suffering masses from poverty, misery and slavery. So the more the power of the Congress increases, the more the suffering of the masses will be palliated and the more will it become easier to get rid of the humiliation of slavery. It is for this reason that the late Deshbandhu hoisted the National Flag on the Corporation Buildings.

The citizens of Kushtia have already given ample proof of their love for the Congress in various ways. During the last Civil disobedience movement, the merchants of Kushtia lavishly contributed to the funds of the Congress. The citizens have made impossible the sale of foreign cloth in the market by rousing popular feelings against it, women gladly parted with their ornaments, youths courted imprisonment with smiling faces. Kusthia is now expected to do what it had done in the past. We hope the honour and dignity of the Congress will be upheld.

It is my fervent appeal to the citizens of Kushtia that, forgetting all private and individual interests and sinking all party differences, he will accomplish the victory of the Congress so that the National Flag may be hoisted on the Municipal Office of Kusthia.

* Translated from the original in Bengali

COMPLETE INDEPENDENCE AND ITS MEANING

Speech at Noakhali, 15 May 1931

We want complete independence in all its aspects, in all spheres of life. Complete independence is like a lamp in a room which when kindled enlightens every nook and corner of the house. Complete independence shall be based on socialistic ideals on equality of men. Russia has accepted one view, Italy of today another, and India would have her own interpretation of equality, and democratic state. Indian philosophy teaches to unify diversities. It would form the basis of future independent India. From 'Upanishadic' times down to Ramkrishna-Vivekananda, unity in diversity had been the ideal of life. East and West shall combine in us. We should base our united civilization on diverse culture and tradition in a purely Indian way. Indian ideal is not warfare but love, and love would form the basis of that civilisation. Youths have to solve this great problem and attain that ideal. Different youth or other institutions are but tributaries to the great river, namely the Congress. Small institutions must not show any sign of revolt as the Chairman of the Reception Committee has shown against the Congress. They shall but add strength to the Congress. The English used their last weapon against India through Miss Mayo, but Indian womanhood proved it false by their courageous activities during a year's struggle. Indian independence requires her mothers' and sisters' sacrifices and without them Indian nationality is a misnomer.

We have forgotten what Deshbandhu told us. We have lost our race consciousness, we are drifted to party factions owing, among other reasons mainly to our forgetfulness as to the idea of united Bengal. Is geographical unity sufficient ? No. We have to regenerate that idea which in the past so much contributed to the formation of Indian nationality. I appealed to all to combine and realise the goal of complete independence from all points of view and be ready for the maximum of sacrifice. Minimum sacrifice as Mahatma Gandhi preaches is for the masses but for youths it is the maximum sacrifice. Youths have to chalk out an effective programme which shall attain strong physique for them, shall bring them stout heart, spirit of sacrifice, expansion of soul. We want thousands of Jatin Das, we want selfless self-reliance amongst youths. Youth would create the future India where men and women, workers and peasants and all shall have their part.

* Translated from the original in Bengali

YOUTH AND THE FUTURE OF INDIA

Speech at Noakhali Youth Conference, 17 May 1931

We want thousands of Jatin Das from among the youths of Bengal, emulating his spirit of self-less-ness. We want a new band of youngmen imbued with a keen sense of race consciousness. For, it is the youth who would create future India where men and women, workers and peasants would all enjoy the blessings of freedom. I call upon you to realise what a glorious role you have to play in the near future and then march forward with no thought except the emancipation of the motherland in bondage, to distract your attention.

I may refer to the example of Mazzini and Italy of those days and say how the hundredfold divisions and other barriers then existing in the way of freedom, could not freeze genial current of Mazzini's youthful heart and thurst him from realising his ideal of securing freedom for Italy. Independence was not to be had by debates and controversies but by real Sadhana and Karmayoga, by sacrifice at the alter of the motherland of all handkerings after self and power. Restlessness is noticed, of late, among the youths and it is welcomed as a sign of life and an indication of searching after truth. The same tendencies were to be found in the youth movements all over the world.

The English had used the last weapon in their armoury against India through Miss Mayo, but the Indian womanhood proved the utter falsity of that propaganda by their heroic conduct during a year's struggle. Indian independence, required the sacrifice of her mothers and sisters and without them the term Indian Nationality was a misnomer.

Please look at the present-day politics of Bengal. We have forgotten what Deshbandhu laid great emphasis on. We have lost our race consciousness and so are drifted to party faction which is possible mainly because of our forgetfulness about the idea of a 'United Bengal'. Mere geographical unity is not sufficient. We have to recreate the idea which in the past contributed so much to the formation of an Indian Nationality.

NORTH BENGAL IN DISTRESS

An appeal, 22 May 1931

"The public are already aware that there is acute, wide-spread distress prevailing all over North Bengal. Gaibandha is one of the Centres which has been hit very hard indeed. Harrowing tales of starvation, distress and destitution are daily pouring in. It is said that in Gaibandha Sub Division alone, over 3 lakh people have been affected.

Immediate steps should be taken to undertake relief work and to ameliorate distress as far as possible. I understand that the Gaibandha Congress Committee have taken up the work. I appeal to the public for generous support. All contributions are to be sent to Maulvi Mahiuddin Khan, President, Gaibandha Congress Committee."

INDIA FREED MEANS HUMANITY SAVED

Speech at the U.P. Naujawan Bharat Sabha Conference in Muttra, 26 May 1931

Friends, accept my heartfelt gratitude for the opportunity you have given me of coming into personal contact with patriotic workers and lovers of freedom like yourselves. As for the honour which you have been pleased to confer on me, that is something which I do not deserve—and it has been bestowed on me not on a consideration of merit—but out of affection for a fellowworker like myself.

The first question that strikes us when we attend a Conference of this kind is this:—"What is the necessity of a separate Naujawan Bharat Sabha movement when we have the Indian National Congress as the supreme nationalist organisation in the country?" A fitting reply to this important question will remove many doubts, clear up many misunderstandings and define the position of the Naujawan Bharat Sabha in its relation to other public bodies.

The Naujawan Bharat Sabha Movement is not local or provincial affair. It is an All-India movement. Appearing, it may be, under different names in different parts of the country and having, it may be, slightly different methods or programmes in different places. Nevertheless, the fundamental character of this movement is the same, all over the country. And the very existence of this movement demonstrates that there were potent causes which necessitated the birth of this movement.

The psychological impulse behind this movement is a feeling of restlessness and impatience of acute discontent with the present order of things and a profound desire for a radical change. This basic feeling has a destructive as well as a creative element. The desire to destroy what appears to the youthful mind to be old, unsuitable, inefficient or evil and to create what is good, useful or beautiful is so strong that the existing movements or institutions or organisations are not able to afford to give adequate expression to that strong desire. Youth, therefore, felt called upon to start a movement and to create an organisation through which they could give full play to their destructive as well as creative instincts and desire.

The Indian National Congress has to exist and to work under certain limitations. It is burdened with a sense of responsibility which may be lacking in youth organisations in the earlier stages of their growth. The Indian National Congress has to carry the whole country with itself, so far as that is humanly possible, and has, therefore, got to move somewhat slowly. Further, the Congress is primarily a political body and generally it cannot concern itself with questions which do not have a political bearing.

Lastly, in order to carry the whole country, the Congress has to trim its sailes and to adjust the desires, interests or demands of different communities or groups or schools of thought in the country.

The youth organisations in the country, which are thoroughly radical in character and outlook, are more free to think and act than the Indian National Congress. They have got to carry the whole country with them just at present, their primary objective being to rally the youths only. Neither are they burdened with a sense of responsibility as the Indian National Congress is. Consequently they can move as fast as they like and be as radical as they desire without any fear of alienating any individual or group.

It has often happened in human history that the extreme wing in a parent body or in a mother institution have started an organisation of their own through which full play could be given to the desires and aspirations of that wing.

Whether the two separate organisations can avoid conflict and work harmoniously for the benefit of both and of society in general depends entirely on the members of these organisations. In India today we find that in some parts there is no conflict between the youth organisations and the Congress organisations—whereas in other parts, there is a conflict of some sort.

In order to avoid unnecessary conflict between youth organisations and congress organisations—two factors are necessary. The youth organisations on their part must have a desire to work in harmony with Congress organisations and the Congress organisations should sympathise with the desires and aspirations of the youths. As a matter of fact, where the congress machinery is in the hands of youths or of those who sympathise with the youths, conflict is very often avoided.

I am emphatically of opinion that there is no inherent opposition between the Indian National Congress and the Naujawan Bharat Sabha. If there is any opposition or misunderstanding between the two anywhere, it is of our own making, and with goodwill on both sides, can be very easily ended. If opposition and misunderstanding between the Congress and the Naujawan Bharat are not removed, the position of full-fledged Congressmen like myself, who are also champions of the youth movement becomes very embarrassing indeed.

If the Naujawan Bharat Sabha is taken to represent a feeder movement in its relation to the Indian Nationalal Congress, it will give correct expression to my views. The youth movement will not care for numbers. It will only seek to rally the radical elements in society. It will not be merely political since it will interest itself in every department of human life and will seek to introduce a thoroughly new socio-economic order as well as a body-politic. It will not be content with tackling the superficial problems of the day, but will take up the deeper problems of our life as well and attempt to solve them. All this can very well be done without creating any conflict, if there be good will on both sides.

Naujawans, on their parts must realise that the Congress stands for the Nation. Nothing should, therefore, be

done that may undermine or harm the prestige of that institution. They should act in a spirit of helpfulness and if they so desire, they may act as a lever inside the Congress in order to influence the right wing or the Conservative section in the Congress.

Congressmen on their part, should not view the Naujawans with suspicion or hostility. They should remember that the Naujawans are after all, the heirs of future India and their desires and aspirations should be appreciated and sympathised with. If both sides are thus inspired with a friendly feeling—I am sure that conflict or hostility or misunderstanding can easily be avoided.

At the last session of the All-India Naujawan Bharat Sabha at Karachi, I suggested to the Naujawans that instead of working outside of and in opposition to the Congress they should organise themselves as the Left-Wing of the Congress. Thereby they would add to and not undermine the strength of the Indian National Congress. The Congress has set out to win political independence for India. It is a progressive body and is responsive to public opinion. It has a glorious tradition as well as an international reputation—and it has been built on the gigantic sacrifices made by successive generations in the past. Its leaders past and present are a galaxy of stars of the first magnitude shining in the political horizon of India. And lastly may I ask—"Where on earth can you get another leader like Mahatma Gandhi ?"

If the Congress had not set out to win independence for India—if the Congress had been a reactionary body, incapable of responding to public opinion, if all the Congress Leaders had been selfish or unpatriotic men, then I could have advised my Naujawan comrades to follow a different line of action in opposition to the Congress. But as things stand, the Congress belongs as much to the Naujawans as to any body else. I would even say that it belongs more to the Naujawans than to anybody else, for they are the heirs of future India. Therefore, if the Naujawans all over India whole-heartedly join the Congress and work through it the entire Congress machinery will be in their hands before long.

I have said that the Naujawan Bharat Sabha movement is not a local or a provincial affair. I shall now go further and say that it represents a universal phenomenon—and even in countries that are politically free, the youth movement exists. The reason is that the purpose of this movement is to recreate the whole of our life—individual as well as collective. And as long as this purpose is not fulfilled, the youth movement cannot cease to exist.

Since the earliest ages, humanity has been in search of a better order of things. This search has gone on alike in the East and in the West and not only sages and dreamers, but politicians and statesmen as well, have been after it. The vision of an ideal society or state has appeared in different forms in different climes, but the impulse behind them all has been the same. In the East people dreamt of a "Dharma-Rajya". In the West, people dreamt of an Ideal Republic. Sometimes, people have endeavoured to go back to the state of nature from whence they think they came—at other times, they have tried to demolish the age-long social, economic and political structure in order to rear up something great and noble on the ruins of the past.

In the search for a better order humanity has throughout the ages, been groping in the twilight of darkness and light. Religion, philosophy and literature have all tried to throw some light on that elusive 'will-o-the-wisp' the ideal. It would be interesting to trace and study these efforts made in almost every civilised country from age to age but that would take too much time and may divert us from the immediate problem before us. It will suffice to say that mankind has now accepted the theory of progress and has rejected the opposite theory viz., the theory of man's fall and his subsequent degradation. This theory of progress may be made the starting points of our discussion.

If we undertake a comparative analysis of the different socio-political ideals that have inspired human endeavour and activity throughout the ages, we shall arrive at certain common principles. The same result may be attained by searching our hearts and asking ourselves as to what principles and ideals would make our life worth living. By following either course I am led to the conclusion

that the principles that should form the basis of our collective life are justice, equality, freedom, discipline and love. There is hardly any necessity of arguing that all our affairs and relations should be guided by a sense of justice. In order to be just and impartial, we shall have to treat all men as equal. In order to make men equal, we shall have to make them free. Bondage, whether social, economic or political, robs men of their freedom and gives rise to inequalities of various kinds. Thereafter, in order to ensure equality, we must get rid of bondage of every kind social, economic and political and we must become fully and wholly free. But freedom does not mean indiscipline or license. Freedom does not imply the absence of law. It only means the substitution of our own law and our own discipline in place of an externally imposed law and discipline. Discipline imposed on us by ourselves is necessary not only when we have attained freedom, but is more necessary when we are struggling to achieve freedom. Therefore, discipline, whether for the individual or for society, is necessary as a basis of life. Lastly all these fundamental principles viz., justice, equality, freedom and discipline presuppose or imply another higher principle viz., love. Unless we are inspired by a feeling of love and humanity we can neither be just towards all nor treat men as equal, nor feel called upon to suffer and sacrifice in the cause of freedom, nor enforce discipline of the right sort. These five principles, therefore, should in my opinion, be the basis of our collective life. I should go further and say that these principles constitute the essence of Socialism, as I understand it—of the Socialism that I would like to see established in India.

I believe that in the future that is before us, India will be able to evolve a socio-economic and political structure which will be in many respects an object lesson to the world, just as Bolshevism today has many useful lessons for humanity. But I do not believe that abstract principles can be applied in the same manner, form and degree to different nations or countries. Marxian principles when applied to Russia and Russian conditions gave birth to Bolshevism. Similiarly socialism when applied to India and

Indian conditions will develop a new form or type of socialism which may be hailed as Indian Socialism. Environments, racial temperament, socio-economic conditions, all these cannot be ruled out by a stroke of the pen. They are therefore bound to influence or modify any principle that is sought to be translated into reality.

While seeking light and inspiration from abroad, we cannot afford to forget that we should not blindly imitate any other people and that we should assimilate what we learn from elsewhere after finding out what will suit our national requirements as well as our national genius. There is a great deal of truth in the proverb—"What is one man's meat is another's poison." I should, therefore, like to strike a note of warning to those who may feel tempted to follow blindly the tenets and methods of Bolshevism.

With regard to the tenets of Bolshevism I may say, the Bolshevic theory is at present going through an experimental stage. There has been a departure not only from the original theory of Marx, but also from the principles enunciated by Lenin and other Bolshevik leaders before they captured the political power. This departure has been caused by the peculiar conditions or circumstances prevailing in Russia which have compelled a modification of the original theory or theories. With regard to the methods and tactics employed by the Bolsheviks in Russia I may say that they will not necessarily suit Indian conditions.

As a proof of this I may say that inspite of the Universal and human appeal to Communism, Communism has not been able to make much headway in India—chiefly because the methods and tactics generally employed by its protagonists are such as tend to alienate rather than win over possible friends and allies.

To summarise what I have said, I want a Socialist Republic in India. What exact form that Socialist State will take, it is not possible to detail at this stage. We can at this stage outline only the main principles and features of the Socialist State.

The message which I have to give is one of complete, allround undiluted freedom. We want political freedom whereby is meant the constitution of an independent Indian

State, free from the control of British Imperialism. It should be quite clear to everybody that independence means severance from the British Empire and on this point there should be no vagueness or mental reservation.

Secondly, we want complete economic emancipation. Every human being must have the right to work and the right to a living wage. There shall be no drones in our society and no unearned incomes. There must be equal opportunities for all. Above all, there should be a fair, just and equitable distribution of wealth. For this purpose, it may be necessary for the state to take over the control of the means of production and distribution of wealth.

Thirdly, we want complete social equality. There shall be no caste, no depressed classes. Every man will have the same rights, the same status in society. Further there shall be no inequality between the sexes either in social status or in law and woman will be in every way an equal partner of man.

We, therefore, have a new message for every group or class or individual in society who may be exploited or oppressed in any way. We have a message for the political worker, for the wage-earner, for the landless and propertyless proletariat, for the so-called depressed classes in society and for the weaker sex. These exploited or oppressed classes represent the radical or if I may say so, revolutionary elements in our society. If we can be out to greet them with a new message—the message of complete allround freedom—I have no doubt that they can be inspired in no time. Until these radical or revolutionary elements are stirred up, we cannot get freedom, and we cannot stir up the revolutionary elements among us except by inspiring them with a new message which gives human life a new meaning and a new purpose.

During the last thirty years and particularly during the last ten or twelve years, India has been flooded with a number of Western theories or "ism". Some of these theories are really Western—being the exclusive product of Western conditions which do not prevail in the East; other theories—like that of socialism—are Western only superficially, that is, in the sense that they are today being propagated by Westerners—whereas in reality Socialism in some form or other, and under some name or other, has inspired humanity in the East and West alike.

The sudden influx of Western thought created an intellectual ferment and for some time an intellectual chaos. People could not at first decide what to accept and what to reject. But we are gradually finding our bearings and we now feel convinced that what is healthy and desirable for us, is not a blind acceptance of what comes from abroad but a synthesis of Eastern and Western thought. There is, in this connection, another conviction which is gradually deepening within us. At first we were inclined to believe that our salvation depended entirely on accepting a theory which would be to our liking. There are people today who, for instance, swear by Bolshevism and honestly think that if we could faithfully reproduce what exists in Bolshevist Russia—India would be saved—and we could attain the Summum bonum of our existence. But this belief is now being rudely shaken. In the first place, it is being realised that no abstract theory can be applied to any country or people without taking into account the temperament of the race, socio-economic conditions and environment. These factors may render unsuitable to a particular country or nation, a particular theory which may have proved to be a great success under different conditions. Secondly we have begun to realise that the models that we generally hold up before ourselves for emulation are themselves incomplete experiments and no one knows how those experiments will ultimately end.

For these and other reasons, we are gradually realising the value and importance of the human element in our progress, We have begun to feel that no theory can save us, unless we can create a better type of men from amongst ourselves. This is also the experience of history and that is why we find that throughout the ages, along with the search of theory, there has gone on the search of a better type of man. Sometimes it is the Greek Diogenes in search of a good man; sometimes it is the Indian search of a "Guru" or an "avatar"; sometimes, again, it is the German Nietzsche in search of a superman. Let us, therefore,

realise once for all that no theory or "ism", whether imported from abroad or reared in our own soil, can save India unless we can create a better and nobler type of men.

Institutions, whether social or economic or political, can at best help to foster menhood and develop character, by creating favourable conditions for and grown but they cannot create the inner impulse. It is this inner impulse which makes men of us. Man is but the external embodiment of that inner impulse. This inner impulse is either inborn or it is transmitted by a higher soul to us or it is created from within by an effort of will—by the will to live and to grow.

Country-wide vital organisations—The Naujawan Bharat Sabha Movement, or the youth movement, must have centres all over the country. To these centres, the best among us must be drawn. Arrangements must be made for training youngman and woman, who will be our future workers. This training must be an all-round one and must provide for the physical, intellectual and moral uplift of our youths. Unless we have a net-work of institutions with this end in view the youth movement will never grow.

When these workers have been trained and are fit for work they will have to go out and organise the country.

For organising the country I would suggest the following programme :—

(1) Organisation of peasants and workers on a socialistic programme.

(2) Organisation of youngmen and women into volunteer corps under strict discipline.

(3) Extensive movement for the abolition of social and religious superstitions of all kinds.

(4) Organisation of women's associations for propagating among our womenfolk the idea of all-round freedom and equality.

(5) Creation of a new literature for giving expression to the new thought in the country.

(6) Countrywide propaganda for popularising the new idea of the age.

After our young workers are properly trained and have fully imbibed the new idea—they should take up the task of stirring up all the radical elements in our society, and or rousing into life and activity the hither-to backward sections of our community. I have no doubt that this new gospel, the message of equality and of all-round freedom, will act as the breath of life and will inspire the whole nation. And in a vast country like ours, as soon as the will to be free is roused in the people, they will break the chains of bondage in no time.

Friends, I have taken up a lot of your valuable time and I think I have said enough. I thank you once again for the opportunity and privilege you have given me of coming into your midst and thereby enabling me to exchange thoughts. I hope, earnestly and ardently, that when we depart, we shall go back with a new inspiration and a new resolve. We shall then be able to address ourselves to our task in all seriousness and with unflinching courage. Let the vision of a free India—a completely free and emancipated India—captivate the souls of our youths and intoxicate them. India has a gigantic task before herself—she has to save herself and thereafter save humanity. India is today the keystone of Imperialism throughout the world. India's freedom, therefore spells the destruction of world-Imperialism. For this reason, India has to be saved.

And further, she has to be saved because the world is poorer without India's contributions to the culture and civilisation of the world. I have always said and maintained even at the risk of being criticised and misunderstood in certain quarters, that India has something new—something original—to give to the world and the whole world is anxiously awaiting that gift. The last gift that India will probably make to the world is a new socio-economic order and a body-politic which will have lessons for the entire human race. Friends, let us, therefore, rise and resolve to make India free—confident in our faith that India freed means humanity saved.

"Bande Mataram"

APPEAL TO CONGRESSMEN ALL OVER BENGAL

Statement concerning B.P.C.C. Controversy, 2 June 1931

I am grateful to Congressmen all over Bengal for the splendid manner in which they have rallied round the B.P.C.C. in spite of the campaign of calumny and abuse that has been going on against the B.P.C.C., Executive and their supporters. From reports received upto date it appears that out of 32 districts in Bengal, the election has been going on monthly in 26 districts. In only 6 districts have the District's Congress Executive refused to cooperate with the Returning Officers. We have also been informed that in these 6 districts there has been a great deal of public resentment at the attitude of the District Congress Committees and that in spite of revolt of the District Congress Execuiive, a keen contest is expected there at the time of polling. In some districts as in Jessore, the Sub-Divisional and Branch Congress Committees have already passed resolutions protesting against the action of the district Congress Committees. It appears further that in some of the above 6 districts, as in Dacca, the supporters of the district congress executive were taking part in the election and had submitted nomination papers, but they suddenly changed their attitude after the revolt of Mr. Sengupta. The B.P.C.C. has already taken steps to see that the election is duly gone through in the above 6 districts. It is also significant to note that till the moment Mr. Sengupta raised the standard of revolt against the B.P.C.C., all the 32 districts of Bengal were carrying out the instructions of the B.P.C.C., with regard to the Provincial Election.

I appeal to congressmen all over Bengal as well as to the general public to maintain their equanimity of mind in spite of the vilification that is going on around us in the Press and the Platform. I assure everybody that the B.P.C.C., will go on with its work with calmness and will deal with any case of irregularity in any part of the Province in connection with the Provincial elections that may be brought to its notice and will see that there is no ground of complaint in any quarters. So far as the campaign of vilification is concerned, my advice to all concerned is to ignore it completely so that those who are engaged in this campaign will be constrained to stop of sheer fatigue. The public will judge us by our past record of service and sacrifice. Our conscience is quite clear and we know that in spite of the noise that interested parties may be making the heart of the country is sound and the country is with us.

IRRESPONSIBLE CHARGES

An appeal to countrymen, 11 June 1931

"The working committee has rightly decided that the Bengal dispute should go before an arbitrator whose award shall be final. The Committee has also decided that the B.P.C.C. elections are to go on, unless the arbitrator after considering the situation directs otherwise. The elections are by now probably over in the majority of the districts and in about Six districts only elections are still due.

I appeal to everybody concerned to co-operate in completing the elections. Those who have any complaint about the elections will have the fullest opportunity of placing their grievances before the arbitrator Sj. Aney. Under ordinary circumstances the B.P.C.C., would have enquired into these grievances and endeavoured to do justice. Since the Working Committee has now stepped in, we have gladly handed over responsibility to the arbitrator. The Working Committee has desired that attacks in the Press or on the Platform should cease. I am proud to say that our party has during the last fortnight behaved with commendable restraint inspite of great provocation. But now I press for more restraint on our part. Our case is so strong that we do not need to resort to attacks or vilification of the other party. Rather such tactics will unnecessarily harm our cause instead of furthering it.

Let us try our level best to create a friendly atmosphere in Bengal for the arbitrator to work in. If we can

do that, the task of the arbitrator will become easier and our future difficulties will be smoothed at the same time. The present bitterness can not and should not continue long. If we love our country, we must be anxious to settle down to useful work as early as possible. We can do that if from to-day we resolve to create a friendly atmosphere in Bengal.

Whatever may be the decision of the arbitrator his award shall be final. Bengal will have to loyally abide by that award. Only by doing that, can we hope to end this bitterness of the past and commence a new chapter in the political history of Bengal.

We have from the very beginning welcomed this arbitration for more reasons than one. Serious allegations have been publicly made against us. We have been charged with such crimes as bribery, corruption, fraud, jobbery etc. It is tragic that after years of public service we should to-day stand charged with such heinous crimes before the bar of public opinion. We have so far met these charges with patient indifference. But now we demand justice. After all we have made some sacrifice and undergone some sufferings in the service of our dear country. And my sufferings and sacrifice pale into insignificance when compared with that of my numerous co-workers, hundreds of whom are to-day behind the prison bars. If we have done something in the past to advance the cause of India's freedom, we hope to do more in future, for we have since the prime of life consecrated ourselves to the service of the country. Is it fair, is it just, is it right that at this stage in our public career, we should have to answer such charges as bribery, corruption, fraud, jobbery etc. ? Can we not expect any protection from our loving countrymen whose servants we have been and we hope to be in future. For a Congress worker no redress is possible in a court of law. I, therefore, turn to the hearts of my countrymen and seek their loving protection. I have told the working committee that if Mr. Sen Gupta is able to prove the charges that he has hurled at us, we should be publicly censured and declared unfit for public service. On the other hand if he fails to prove these charge, we shall then demand full protection and unstinted support of the Working Committee. We have in the past rendered such service as we were capable of and we desire to continue that service in future. It is for our countrymen to say whether they want our service or not. If they do, they will have to demonstrate once again their affection for and confidence in us by giving a fitting and effective reply to the charges that have been so irresponsibly levelled against us.

TRADE UNION AND THE PROBLEMS OF UNEMPLOYMENT

Presidential address at the All-India Trade Union Congress session in Calcutta, 4 July 1931

I doubt if we can claim that during the last eighteen months the trade union movement has gained in strength and in volume. I would rather be inclined to say that during this period, the movement received a setback. Many factors account for this setback but in my humble opinion the two most important factors are : firstly, the split which occurred at Nagpur, and, secondly the diversion caused by the launching of the civil disobedience movement. Some of our comrades may be disposed to think that the split did not weaken us ; but I cannot share this view, for I have no doubt in my mind that, for the time being at least, we have been weakened by the split. I am therefore one of those who sincerely deplore the split, and if it be possible for us to close up our ranks I shall heartily welcome that event. So far as the second factor is concerned, I venture to think that the attention of the country as a whole was drawn away from the trade union movement owing to the superior attraction of the civil disobedience movement. Under different circumstances the trade union movement could have benefitted by the civil disobedience movement and could have gained in strength as a result of it. But on this occasion the normal progress of the trade union movement has been impeded.

Attempts at unity within the ranks of the trade union movement have been made from time to time by various individuals and groups. I consider it desirable, therefore, to state clearly what the main problems are over which we quarrelled, and how unity could best be achieved at this stage. The main issues are : (1) The question of foreign affiliation ; (2) Representation at Geneva ; (3) Mandatory character of the Trade Union Congress resolutions.

With regard to the first issue, my personal view is that we need have no foreign affiliation now. The Indian trade union movement can well be lifted to take care of itself. We should be prepared to learn from every quarter and even to accept any help that may come from any part of the world. But we should not surrender to the dictates of Amsterdam or Moscow. India will have to work out her own methods and adapt herself to her environment and her own special needs.

With regard to representation at Geneva, I am afraid that too much importance has been given to this question. The best course for us would be to have an open mind and come to a decision every year on this question. We need not decide before hand, once for all, as to whether we should send any representative to Geneva or not. Personally, I have no faith in Geneva. Nevertheless if any friend will be satisfied by our keeping the question open for decision every year, I have on objection to it.

With regard to the mandatory character of the Trade Union Congress resolutions, I am afraid there can hardly be any compromise if the Trade Union Congress is to exist and function. If it is to work for the attainment of working class solidarity in the country, the resolutions of the Trade Union Congress should be binding on all unions affiliated to the Congress. To reduce the Trade Union Congress to the position and status of a loose federation, or to something like an All-Parties Conference, would be suicidal.

With regard to the question of trade union unity, my position is quite clear. I want unity because thereby we can have a strong and powerful organization. But if we are to quarrel again and part company, then we need not attempt a patch-up unity now. The Trade Union Congress is public property. All unions are welcome to join the Congress and make their presence felt. If thereby the office of the Congress passes into the hands of a particular party, then no one can legitimately complain. I would, therefore, earnestly invite all unions to join the Trade Union Congress and to capture the executive if they so desire.

Some of our workers feel very much concerned over the settlement arrived at between Mahatma Gandhi and Lord Irwin. I do not propose to launch into a criticism of the settlement because that would amount to something like a post-mortem examination. The truce is an accomplished fact and we may ignore it at this stage. We can use our time and energy more profitably if we look to the future and try to prepare for it. The Trade Union Congress as a body did not have much to do with the civil disobedience movement last year. But it is open to it to take a larger share in the movement that is to come. In order to do that, preparations must begin from today.

The Karachi session of the Indian National Congress passed a resolution, now popularly known as the Fundamental Rights resolution. Various opinions have been expressed with regard to that resolution. On the one hand, some have roundly condemned it as altogether inadequate and unsatisfactory, while others have waxed eloquent over it. Both these views appear to me to be one-sided. However unsatisfactory the resolution may be, there is no doubt that the resolution stands for a departure from the old tradition, for a recognition of the workers and peasants, for a definite move in the direction of socialism. The value of the resolution is not in what it contains in an explicit form but in what it contains in an implicit form. It is the potentiality of the resolution, rather than the actual contents of the resolution, which appeals to me. The contents of the resolution have to be amplified and improved before it can be altogether satisfactory. We are glad to note that a committee is already at work for the purpose.

People in this country are at the moment awaiting the result of the Round Table Conference. I cannot persuade myself to believe that anything substantial will come out of the conference in the present temper and mentality of the British Government. Further, the Round Table Conference is such as to make it exceedingly difficult to press home the popular point of view and the popular demand. When the result of the conference is announced, it will then be time for the people to take such action as they think fit. That psychological moment should not be lost by the people when it does arrive.

At the Nagpur session of the Congress, the boycott of the Whitley Commission had been decided upon. That Commission have just issued their report. If I were to act like a logician, I should ignore that Report altogether but I shall not do that. Whether it be good, bad or indifferent, we should not ignore a document of that character which is now before the public and which the public are bound to take serious notice of and criticise.

I should say at the very outset that the value of the report of a particular commission lies not in what it contains on paper but in what will ultimately come out of it. Will the expenditure over the commission be justified? For one thing, that is a question which even the man in the street will ask. We Indians have seen so much of reports that only if some tangible good actually comes out of a particular commission, apart from the mere issuing of of a report, we are inclined to be highly sceptical and suspicious about the results. I may even say that in the past the reports of some commissions have met with wholesale condemnation owing to the failure of the Government to implement even the good points in those reports.

The present report has laid considerable emphasis on the problem of welfare works for labour, and though I voted for the boycott of the Whitley Commission I have no hesitation in saying that if recommendation of this point are given effect to, there will be an improvement on the present position. Nevertheless, I am constrained to say that some of the larger and more important questions have not been dealt with properly. Labour today wants the right to work. It is the duty of the state to provide employment to the citizens and where the State fails to perform this duty it should accept the responsibility of maintaining them. In other words, the worker citizen cannot be at the mercy of the employer to be thrown out on the streets at his sweet will and made to starve. The industry of the country is today faced with a crisis owing to the application of the axe. I am not unmindful of the difficulties of the employers. It is something impossible for them to maintain their old staff and they are forced to resort to retrenchment. But even in such cases the State cannot absolve itself of all responsibility and the employer should be told that if in his brighter days he has made his pile with the help of his poor workers, he cannot leave them to their fate when adversity overtakes them. Until this problem of retrenchment is satisfactorily solved, there can be no industrial peace in the country.

Just as every worker can claim the right to work, he can also claim the right to a living wage. Does the factory worker in India get a living wage today ? Look at the Jute factories and the textile mills. What portion of their enormous profits did they spend for the welfare of the poor and oppressed workers ? I know that they will say that of late they are in a bad way. But granting that proposition, may we not ask what reserves they have piled up during their past history ? I should not in this connection forget the Indian Railways either. They are now busy applying the axe. But those who are resorting to drastic retrenchment have certainly some duty towards those who in the past enabled them to swell their profits and pile up their reserves. We can also refer to our tea planters. What are the profits that they have been making, and how have they been treating their labour ? Is it not a fact that in some areas at least the poor workers are still subjected to conditions which have much in common with the old institution of slavery ? What has, then, the Labour Commission recommended for securing to the Indian worker a living wage and decent treatment ? They have referred to minimum wages in the jute and textile industry. But can we be rest assured that the minimum wages mean a living wage ?

It is not necessary for me to enter into a detailed examination of the different recommendations made by the Whitley Commission. I shall refer, however, to one point which, though apparently insignificant, is of vital interest to the growth of the trade union movement in India. The report says that "Section 22 of the Trade Unions Act should be amended so as to provide that ordinarily not less than two-thirds of the officers of a registered trade union shall be actually engaged or employed in an industry with which the union is concerned." The Commission should have known that in India outsiders or non-workers are usually elected as officebearers of trade union because employees who agree to work as office-bearers are usually victimized by the employers on some flimsy pretext or other. Therefore if employees are to be forced to become office-bearers themselves, there should be some arrangement for preventing their victimization at the hands of their employers. Otherwise, if the present policy of victimization continues, it will be impossible for the employees to become office-bearers.

To sum up, the major problems of unemployment, retrenchment and living wage for the workers have not been handled properly. The ameliorative programme drawn up by the Commission is attractive in many places, but who is giving effect to that programme ? Can anything be expected from the present Government which is definitely anti-labour ? The labour problem is, therefore, ultimately a political problem. Until India wins her freedom and establishes a democratic—if not socialistic—Government, no ameliorative programme for the benefit of labour can be given effect to. It is clear from the report that everything is practically left to the Government. The report does not say anything as to how labour can capture or influence the governmental machinery. But till this is done, no amount of reports can actually benefit labour. The Commission should have recommended adult franchise in connection with the new constitution. In addition to this, or as an alternative, the commission could also have recommended a certain percentage of seats in the provincial and central legislature to be reserved for the representatives of labour.

The trade union movement is destined to grow in strength and in volume in spite of the temporary setbacks that it may have received in the past. Various currents and cross-currents of thought sometimes make trade union workers feel bewildered as to the path or the modus operandi they should follow. There is, on the one hand, the Right Wing who stand for a reformist programme above everything else. On the other side there are our Communist friends who, if I have understood them alright, are adherents and followers of Moscow. Whether we agree with the views of either group or not, we cannot fail to understand them. Between these two groups is another group which stands for socialism—for full-blooded socialism—but which desires that India should evolve her own form of socialism as well as her own methods. To this group I humbly claim to belong.

I have no doubt in my own mind that the salvation of India, as of the world, depends on socialism. India should learn from and profit by the experience of other nations—but India should be able to evolve her own methods in keeping with her own needs and her own environment. In applying any theory to practice, you can never rule out geography or history. If you attempt it, you are bound to fail. India should, therefore, evolve her own form of socialism. When the whole world is engaged in socialistic experiments, why should we not do the same ? It may be that the form of socialism which India will evolve will have something new and original about it which will be of benefit to the whole world.

PATH ADOPTED FOR TRADE UNION MOVEMENT

Statement on the Moscow menace in the Trade Union Congress, 11 July 1931

Now that the Calcutta Session of the Trade Union Congress is over ; it is time to review the events of the last week. It will be remembered that at the Jharia Session of the Congress held in 1928 sign of the coming storm was visible, but the storm did not actually break. Even at Jharia well-defined parties could be clearly distinguished. There was on the one side the right wing led by Mr. Joshi and his comrades, who may be regarded as the founders of the Trade Union movement in India. On the other side there were the Moscow communists led by the Bombay group who followed blindly the dictates of Moscow in the matter of their ideals, methods and tactics. Besides these two parties there were others who could not agree with either group referred to above but they were not at the time organised as a party. They wanted to stand definitely for socialism and they also wanted a militant programme. But they refused to hang to the coat-tails of Moscow or dance to the tune of the Pan-Pacific Secretariat.

At the Nagpur session of the Trade Union Congress the third group voted with the Moscow Communist on several important matters like the recognition of the Girni Kamgar Union of Bombay, boycott of the Whitley Commission etc. The result was that the right-wingers were dead on these questions. Unfortunately they did not take the defeat in a sporting spirit and quietly seceded from the Trade Union Congress and set up the Trade Union Federation. At the Nagpur session the Moscow Communists tried to capture the entire secretariat for themselves but owing to the pressure of the third group they had reluctantly to accept me as president. I was in the unfortunate position of having as Secretary one with whom I did not at all agree regarding methods and tactics. I still carried on hoping that ultimately better days would dawn on us. But our Moscovite Communists emboldened by their success at Nagpur, which was really due to the support given them by the third group aspired to oust from the Trade Union Congress everyone not belonging to their own caucus.

For more than one year they carried on a ceaseless campaign against the Indian National Congress and all sections in the Trade Union Congress, not belonging to their group. When the Congress met at Calcutta they had come prepared for the purpose. But at the outset even without the help of any new unions it was proved that they were in a minority. As soon as they were convinced about this they apprehended that they would not be able to keep the secretariat to themselves. They were correct in this apprehension because the majority in the Trade Union Congress were determined to get rid of Mr. Deshpandey and his caucus. During the last year under Mr. Deshpandey's secretaryship the Trade Union Congress had become almost moribund. The office had taken shelter in Mr. Ginwala's office, no letters would be replied to by the secretary and at the end of the year Mr. Ginwala, the treasurer, complained that the secretary had failed to render accounts of the sums he had drawn.

Further at the Calcutta Congress the Credentials Committee had reported against Mr. Deshpandey's group and in favour of the other group in the Girni Kamgar Union. As a result of this Mr. Deshpandey would automatically go out of the Congress. Therefore they decided to break up the session. Inside the hall they followed obstructive and noisy tactics and insulted everybody they chose from the president downwards. Outside the hall they got a large number of rowdies for the purpose of invading the hall when the signal was given. Mr. Deshpandey's group and some of his Bengal followers (who, by the way, were led by Messrs Bankim Mukherjee and Bhupen Dutta) were constantly going out of the hall and were communicating with the rowdies outside. Though the Volunteer arrangements were in the hands of the Reception Committee Mr. Deshpandey ordered them to go away, put a few of his own men at the gate and these men allowed the rowdies to come in.

All these incidents were possible because we and the Reception Committee endeavoured till the very last to avoid an open breach with them. On the 5th instant the Executive Council and the open session of the Congress were adjourned by me as it was impossible to transact any business. But the Secretary without any reference to the President called a meeting of the Executive Council at the Albert Hall at 8 a.m. on the 6th instant. Owing to the resentment of the workers at this procedure, the Deshpandey group could not venture to hold any meeting there. Baffled in their attempts to hold a meeting they ultimately had to leave the city of Calcutta and hold a meeting of their own in a remote bazar at Matiaburuz far away from the city.

The next day the adjourned meeting of the Executive Council and open session of the Congress were held at the Town Hall but Mr. Deshpandey's group did not attend.

The Moscow Communists and their Bengal followers have now virtually seceded from the Trade Union Congress, but they did not do so with good grace. They resorted to all sorts of questionable tactics including rowdism hoping that thereby they would drive out the third group from the Congress as they had succeeded in driving out right-wingers at Nagpur. But they had sterner stuff to deal with in Calcutta. The third group, which may be called the Socialist group, were determined to remain inside the Congress and to fight every inch of the ground. Since they were in a majority they could not be scared away by the Moscow Communists; but even if they had been a minority they would not have seceded from the Congress. The Moscow Communists are a serious menace to the growth of healthy Trade Unions in India and we can not possibly leave the field to them. The socialist group who have an ideal programme and ideology of their own, are today recognised as a party in India. They are prepared to work in co-operation with every other party in the country but they are not going to be dominated by any of them much less by the Moscow Communists.

There is one disgraceful feature in the events of last week and that is the part played by the party opposed to the Bengal Provincial Congress Committee in helping Mr. Deshpandey's group to create confusion and disorder at the meeting of the Executive Council of the Trade Union Congress. Messrs Bankim Mukherjee, Bhupen Dutta and their friends who are followers of Mr. Deshpandey are no doubt hostile to the B.P.C.C., but why should their colleagues in the National Congress who are opposed to the B.P.C.C., and who have nothing to do with the Trade Union Congress go out of their way to help Mr. Deshpandey's group in creating disorder?

In the eyes of Mr. Deshpandey the fault of our group is that we are opposed to the dictation of Moscow and many of us are members of the Indian National Congress and followers of Mahatma Gandhi. We are not prepared to shout with them "Down with the National Congress" and "Down with Gandhi". We have no desire to sail under false colour or to act under false pretences. Those of us who are Congressmen shall remain Congressmen inspite of Mr. Deshpandey and his friends. Till the last we shall endeavour to maintain friendly relations between the Indian National Congress and the All-India Trade Union Congress and we shall also fight the domination of Moscow in the affairs of India, for we are convinced that only thereby can we secure the best interests of India and of the Trade Union Movement in India. We feel convinced that the path we have adopted is one which the people of India will ultimately accept.

INDIA SAVED MEANS HUMANITY SAVED

Address at Narail, 17 July 1931

Ladies, Gentlemen and my young friends,

I think you should know and understand the mental attitude and the ideals and the method of work of those who serve you and work for the freedom of the country. You have certainly a right to know all that.

You know the English first came into this country with the traders' merchandise but the greed for the sceptre led them to seize political power. We in Bengal know fully well how they managed to become our rulers. Those who came to trade got possession of the throne by means which can not be called above board.

Friends, you know how many nations with diverse culture came to India and ultimately became an organic part of the Indian nation. This voluntary admixture considerably developed and enriched our culture and civilisation. The English however, stubbornly resisted any tendency toward fusion with the Indians and on the other hand, attempted to impose on India their own life and culture.

When at the beginning of British rule in India, there arose the question whether India should adopt the English language in Education, Raja Rammohan Roy urged that there would be no development or improvement unless we learnt it, we could not save ourselves except by learning Western methods from Westerners themselves. Thus we came to study the English language and literature.

In due course, however reaction set in. The nation awoke to self-consciousness and began to yearn for liberty, but they did not know how to obtain it; she was groping in the dark in search of the right path. The problem was how to synthesise the diverse cultural, racial and religious elements in the country. Was there any unity underlying the bewildering variety and diversity that India presented?

At this stage came Sri Ramakrishna and he solved the problem once for all. He declared that all religions led to the feet of the same Almighty Father. The synthesis of all religions in India on the basis of universal toleration and love would afford a lasting basis of the development of Indian nationhood.

When people grasped this fundamental truth, they realised that that was time, not only of religions but of all other aspects of life, and that out of the existing diversities in religion and culture, a nation could be created.

Unless we fully realise this truth viz., unity in diversity we can not succeed either in the religious, social or political spheres. There exists a unity underlying these diversities and without being daunted by external appearances we should seek the fundamental unity and build our life—both individual and collective—on that secure basis.

Then appeared Swami Vivekananda when the basis of Indian nationhood was secured. The Swami breathed life into the people by preaching the message of freedom. He realised that it was the light of freedom alone that could illumine the life of India. Through his lectures, poems and writings he declared that "Freedom is the song of the soul". Vivekananda spoke of spiritual freedom no doubt but there is no disputing the fact that when the soul is roused, manifestation of awakening appears in every department of life. When a man is in good health, every limb and organ has the glow of life. On the contrary, when he is diseased, every limb and organ shows signs of paleness and morbidity. This is equally true in the case of a nation when the desire for freedom takes root in the heart of a nation, it is disseminated in all the spheres of life.

To give this nascent idea of Freedom a new form and shape came Sri Aurobindo Ghose. He declared that "complete autonomy free from British control" was our ideal. It was bold and inspiring. Bengal, nay the whole of India, was thrilled into life and activity. The hankering of the heart had found real expression and the whole country cried out as it were "Here after all is a man after my heart". Friends, how many leaders of India at the time dared speak in that strain ? Thus developed the present day Nationalism twenty five years ago.

The history of our struggle for freedom in this country can be divided into three distinct chapters. The Swadeshi movement, the Revolutionary movement and the Non-Co-operation movement. First came the Swadeshi movement which terminated with the introduction of the Morley-Minto Reforms. A section of the people accepted it and remained content with it. But the youths of the country, in whom the seed of freedom had already taken root, regarded it as a mere eyewash and so set out to achieve their ideal through revolutionary methods.

This period of revolutionary activity was followed by the Movement of Non-Co-operation. It was non-violent revolution that for the first time roused the common people to join the fight. It was rightly urged that if the people of the country high and low, rich and poor, were united and withdraw their co-operation from the rulers, the Empire in India would crumble to pieces in a day. How could a handful of Englishmen manage to govern this vast country ? Gentlemen, how many Englishmen are there to rule over the whole district of Jessore ? Their rule is possible only because we go out of our way to co-operate with them. I will give an example. When I was in the Berhampore Jail the relations and friends of an ordinary convict came to see him. The convict told them, "go and tell the members of my family that I am very happy here. The Sarkar has made

me a hakim to rule over 250 prisoners." The fact was that he had been made a convict overseer. Gentlemen, this is how they rule us with our help and keep us under subjection. In a subject country there are no Hakims and all are mere slaves. As inside the jails so also outuside it, they rule the slaves with the help of other slaves.

Therefore if the people of the land refuse to co-operate with the foreigners, there will be an end of British domination in India. Decades ago Seely, Townshend and others foresaw it. When India withdraws her co-operation, wrote Townshend, "the Empire which rose in a day will vanish in a night."

Now not only do we serve them but we feed them. We purchase their articles worth 110 crores of rupees and thereby England maintains herself. That is why we took to boycott and adopted Swadeshi. In all programmes of National work, we place there two items at the fore viz., non-co-operation and boycott with a view to arouse the will to be free among the people and there will be no freedom until the national will is roused.

In our fight for freedom, we have not got the depressed classes and the workers and the peasants with us. They have remained untouchables and neglected as ever. They have not joined us because we have not been able to remove their social grievances. What guarantee, they say, is there that even after Swaraj has been attained, untouchability will not remain and the exploitation by the higher classes will not continue ? The Congress must therefore assure them that injustice and exploitation will be done away with. They will unhesitatingly join us in the fight when they will realise that under Swaraj they will enjoy economic and social freedom.

Emancipation of women is also equally essential for the attainment of freedom. The part that women played in the freedom movement in other countries is too well-known to be retold here. Our womenfolk should now be freed from any disabilities that they may be suffering under and they should be emancipated. It is fortunate that the spirit of Democracy is alive in India to-day. I firmly believe that the freedom movement in India will be crowned with success, for it is a God-inspired movement. To-day India has captured the imagination of the world. International sympathy is with us, which we must strive hard to retain. We shall be able to retain it only when we rise to the occasion and do our duty.

I believe India lives because it is necessary that she should live. The world requires that she should live. She has yet much to give to and teach the world. The nation which has a mission to perform for the world can not die. How many nations in history have disappeared from the face of the earth but India still lives having survived the onslaught of time. The world wants to be benefitted by her teachings, though she has already given much to the world.

America, said to be the foremost nation in the world, got the Nobel Prize in literature last year but long before that, the same prize was won by a son of his country. Our Game defeated Zbysko, claimed to be the greatest wrestler in the world, within the space of one minute. Likewise in physical, mental and intellectual qualities, India holds her own, when pitted against rest of the world. To-day Europe talks of the Doctrine of Humanism, but five hundred years ago our poet Chandidas pronounced it through his poems.

Like France and Russia, India too will create a new social order. She lives because her mind is stored with rich gifts. Swami Vivekananda spoke of India's spiritual mission but I think that her mission is not merely spiritual but many-sided as well. In the sphere of Religion and Society, India alone will find a solution. The Americans claim to be the most civilised nation; but the Negros in America remain slaves as ever and America has not solved the Negro problem. India alone can realise the ideal of the Superman. India's problems are world problems. The salvation of the world depends on India. If the Indian problem is solved the world problem will also be solved. I say therefore that "India saved means humanity saved."

TRUTH ABOUT BENGAL DISPUTE

Statement to the press, 12 August 1931

The "Free Press of India" has sent a message from Bombay relating to the Bengal dispute, which is altogether incorrect and misleading. Dr. B. C. Roy arrived from Bombay yesterday and brought with him a draft proposal for a settlement of the Bengal dispute on the following lines :—

i) That further enquiry be dropped.

ii) That the districts, where, according to the Arbitrator appointed by the Working Committee it may be desirable to have fresh election, the same should be conducted under his direct supervision.

iii) That the election in other districts be considered valid.

iv) That the October elections to B.P.C.C., be held under the supervision and control of Mr. Aney.

Yesterday Dr. Roy sent a wire to Mahatma Gandhi mentioning the points on which I wanted the draft proposal to be amended. This was followed by a telegram which I sent direct to Mahatmaji today confirming yesterday's wire.

The telegram is as follows :—

"Your wire to Dr. Roy. Present provincial election conducted by B P.C.C., which was declared valid by Pandit Motilalji in January 1930. No election held last year owing movement. Provincial election for 1931-32 held June this year because of change in Congress year and change in time of All-India election. Next provincial election due next year. Regarding item five (four) of draft we consider unnecessary any conditions for appointment of supervisor. However we anxious for lasting settlement on any fair reasonable basis. Kindly wire advice."

It will be clear from the above that the "Free Press" message from Bombay is altogether incorrect and misleading. What has really happened is that informal talks and communications for a settlement of the dispute have been carried on. I am sorry that the "Free Press" of Bombay has been so careless in dealing with such an important matter.

I shall only add in conclusion that probably at the time the draft proposal was drawn up in Bombay it was not known that owing to the change in the Congress year and the change in the time of the A.I.C.C. election the next B.P.C.C. election will be due not in October next but some time next year.

According to reports questions arising from Mr. Aney's preliminary investigations into Bengal election disputes were discussed among Mahatma Gandhi and other members of the Congress Working Committee. Mahatmaji, it would seem, has suggested to the Bengal Provincial Congress Committee to agree to the holding of fresh elections under the auspices of the Congress Working Committee, Mr. Aney representing the Working Committee. Advantages of the proposal are, it is stated, that the elections held under the auspices of the Working Committee will enable Congressmen all over the Province to elect freely their nominees to the Bengal Provincial Congress Committee thereby enabling the constitution of the Executive Committee to command the confidence of the majority of Congressmen.

BOYCOTT OF ROUND TABLE CONFERENCE WELCOME

Statement as President of the B.P.C.C., on 15 August 1931

For more reasons than one I am glad at the decision of the Working Committee of the Congress to boycott the Round Table Conference. In the present temper and mentality of the Government it is exceedingly improbable that they will feel disposed to concede to our national demands. Further, the recent developments have confirmed the anticipations of the Left-wingers and they may now claim to stand vindicated. From the very beginning they did not feel happy about the truce conditions and they were pessimistic about the consequences of the truce as well as about

the Round Table Conference. It now remains for the Working Committee to sit down and seriously consider on the one hand whether or not they should send a formal notice to the Government that the truce has ended and on the other hand to seriously consider what the immediate programme before the country should be.

The formal termination of the truce will indicate hardly any change in the political atmosphere of Bengal for the simple reason that this unfortunate province has not enjoyed the truce atmosphere for even a day. What with the Bengal Ordinance and what with the Special Tribunals and Conspiracy cases and a host of other minor factors, the wheels of repression have been moving unceasingly since March last, with the result that if the hearts of people are examined today, hardly a trace of goodwill will be discovered. Bengal seems to have become so accustomed to repression that breaches of the Gandhi-Irwin pact in this province do not come as surprise but are regarded as almost inevitable. Unfortunately the repressive policy of the Government has seriously undermined the hold which the Congress had over the younger generation in this province. Being exasperated at the attitude of the Government on the one hand and on the other, the inability of the Congress to end the chapter of repression, young men have completely lost their heads. It is owing to this exasperation and in opposition to the persistent propaganda of the Congress in favour of non-violence that there has been a recrudescence of revolutionary activity of late. If the Government by following a conciliatory policy do not strengthen the movement and propaganda in favour of non-violence which the Congress has been carrying on, I do not see how the Congress can succeed in its mission to win over the whole country to the cult of non-violence. Today one can hardly expect the Government to have the farsighted statesmanship to resort to conciliation. Therefore, hope and light can come only from another quarter. If the Congress launches a militant non-violent programme as it did last year, it is possible not only to drown all revolutionary activity but also to unite all sections of Congressmen all over the country who today may be quarrelling amongst themselves. Let us, therefore, await the lead of the Working Committee.

B.P.C.C. ELECTION DISPUTE

Letter to the Editor of Amrita Bazar Patrika, 18 Aug. 1931.

Sir,

My attention has been drawn to a report to the effect that "Dr. Bidhan Chandra Roy came to Bombay on behalf of Sj. Subhas Bose and put in writing a proposal for settlement, the terms of which are etc. etc." I do state emphatically that Dr. B. C. Roy did not go to Bombay on my behalf and I had absolutely no knowledge of any proposal or talk of a compromise in connection with the Bengal dispute until Dr. Roy sprang a surprise on me after his return from Bombay. So far as the terms of settlement are concerned, I have made my position clear in the telegram which I sent to Mahatma Gandhi. In the first place, I pointed out that the next B.P.C.C. election would be due not in October next but some time next year. In the second place I said that it was unnecessary to have a supervisor brought in from outside for conducting the B.P.C.C. elections. We have been conducting the work and organisation of the B.P.C.C. for the major portion of the period 1921-31, including the work of running the B.P.C.C. elections, and at this stage we do not require the kind offices of a supervisor. The appointment of a supervisor in this case is in my opinion nothing short of a direct insult to the Provincial Congress Committee of a major and politically advanced province like Bengal. I can not conceive of the working committee or the A.I.C.C. thrusting a supervisor on us against our will. I have no objection to handing over to any impartial tribunal the consideration of any dispute that may arise in connection with the election but the appointment of a supervisor for the entire election is quite a different matter and such an arrangement is calculated to encourage rather than prevent disputes.

In this connection I am reminded of another misstatement regarding the appointment of Mr. Aney as arbitrator for settling the election disputes. It was stated that I opposed the appointment of local arbitrators and pressed for the appointment of an outside arbitrator. The fact however was that I actually wrote down the names of three local arbitrators for the use of Mahatmaji and after that I suggested a list of outside arbitrators in case there was no agreement about the personnel of local arbitrators. The paper containing at the top the list of local arbitrators and at the bottom the list of outside arbitrators in my own hand writing is probably still with Mahatma Gandhi.

SOME QUESTIONS ABOUT THE SURPLUS OF RELIEF FUND

Letter to the President, Bengal Congress Flood and Famine Relief Committee, 22 August 1931

Dear Sir,

You will remember that in 1922 a Flood Relief Committee called the Bengal Relief Committee was formed for organising relief in North Bengal. It will be within the knowledge of the public that the name of the Committee was deliberately chosen as the Bengal Relief Committee. The reason for this choice was that Relief Committees, which had been formed earlier than 1922 and which had surplus amounts left unspent (like the Dacca Cyclone Fund) were reluctant to spend the money in hand for the Flood relief work in 1922 and it was argued that the money raised for the Dacca Cyclone Relief could not be spent legitimately for the North Bengal Floods. It was felt by the public in 1922 that surplus funds should always be spent for subsequent floods and disasters in any part of Bengal. To avoid technical difficulty, therefore, the name of the Bengal Relief Committee was deliberately chosen, so that relief in any part of Bengal could be taken up with the help of surplus funds left unspent by the Committee.

It transpired subsequently that when the relief work in North Bengal was closed in 1923 the committee had in hand a few lacs of rupees. Further a large amount from the surplus fund was invested in Khadi work through only one organization viz., the Khadi Pratisthan. It is known to every body that Sj. Satish Chandra Dasgupta, one of the secretaries of the Bengal Relief Committee was also the secretary or chief organiser of the Khadi Pratisthan. The latest information is that the Khadi Pratisthan is a losing concern and the money invested in Khadi will not be recovered.

I would now request you, Sir, as the President of the Bengal Congress Flood and Famine Relief Committee, to investigate into the following points :—

(1) What was the surplus left after relief work in North Bengal was closed in 1923?
(2) Was the surplus money spent for Khadi work in whole or in part?
(3) If so, what is the amount so invested for Khadi work?
(4) Was the sanction of the Committee taken before investing the money in Khadi work. If so, what is the amount and in which Bank is it invested?
(5) Is there any surplus cash left? If so, what is the amount and in which Bank is it invested?
(6) If there is any surplus cash left, will that money by handed over to the Bengal Congress Flood and Famine Relief Committee?

If my information is correct there were three secretaries to the Bengal Relief Committee and two of them were kept entirely in the dark as to the investment made and expenditure incurred by the Bengal Relief Committee after relief work was closed in 1923.

AUTHORITY IN RUNNING MUNICIPAL ELECTION IN CALCUTTA

Statement issued as President of B.P.C.C., 16 September 1931

In connexion with the present Municipal bye-election in Ward 6, enquiries have been made as to the authority and responsibility of the Provincial Congress Committee in running the Municipal Elections in Calcutta. In reply it may be said that ever since 1924 (when under the leadership of Deshbandhu C. R. Das, the Congress Party captured the Corporation for the first time) on every occasion the Provincial Congress Committee has been running the elections. This authority was challenged by Mr. J. M. Sen Gupta for the first time in 1930 when he did not control the B.P.C.C. though when he conducted the elections in 1927 he enjoyed the support and authority of the Provincial Congress Committee and of the Working Committee of the Congress.

In 1924 Deshbandhu Das, who was vested with the full powers of the B.P.C.C. in the matter of running the Municipal elections censured the North Calcutta Congress Committee for defying the authority of the B.P.C.C. in the matter of selecting candidates. Apart from the fact that the B.P.C.C. is the highest Congress organisation in Bengal, there are other cogent reasons as to why the responsibility for running the elections should be vested in the B.P.C.C. and not in the District Congress Committee—though the District certainly have the right to make recommendations to the B.P.C.C., with regard to the candidates to be set up at the election if they so desire. The Municipal area of Calcutta comprises five Congress Districts viz., North, South, Central, Barabazar and 24 Parganas. Consequently if a higher body like the B.P.C.C., does not take charge of the elections as a whole, there will be confusion and conflict of authority if the districts act on their own. And if one Congress Municipal Party is to be formed inside the Corporation, that will be possible only if there is a higher co-ordinating authority like the B.P.C.C. in control of the election.

It may be stated further that there are some constituencies which do not fall completely within one Congress District. Ward No. 6 is one constituency of this kind and over this Ward, both the North Calcutta Congress Committee and the Barabazar Congress Committee have authority and jurisdiction. In such constituencies if the two District Congress Committees do not agree about the candidate to be set up, who is to settle the point ? Only a higher body like the B.P.C.C., can deal with a situation of this kind. It will, therefore, be realised that even if the districts had been granted autonomy in the matter of running election, the North Calcutta Congress Committee could not have set up Mr. Sen Gupta from Ward 6, the North Calcutta Congress Committee did not obtain the consent of the Barabazar Congress Committee. Mr. J. M. Sen Gupta has made the preposterous statement that in the affairs of Calcutta the remaining 27 Congress Districts of Bengal should have no say. I would assert on the contrary that the whole of Bengal has contributed to the growth and prosperity of Calcutta and Calcutta would not have been what she is today but for the contribution made by the rest of Bengal. Calcutta is thus the epitome of Bengal and if we were to exclude from the Calcutta Corporation all those, who are not old citizens of Calcutta, we would then have to do without many of Councillors as well as officers and employees. Would Mr. Sen Gupta welcome this contingency ?

CAUSES OF RESIGNATION FROM THE OFFICE OF PRESIDENT, B.P.C.C. AND ALDERMAN OF CALCUTTA CORPORATION

Speech to the Congressmen in Bengal, 18 September 1931

Since the present dissensions started in Bengal I do not think any patriotic Congressmen has felt happy. So far as I am concerned, from the beginning I have endeavoured in my own humble way to end the dispute. It appeared clear to me from the outset that there were three ways of solving the problem. Firstly, to strictly follow the constitution and rules of the Indian National Congress and the Bengal Provincial Congress Committee and deal with a firm hand with all those who violate the rules and resort to indiscipline. Secondly, to effect a compromise between different sections or groups of Congressmen which will ensure co-operation in all items of Congress activity. Thirdly, in the event of the other two alternatives failing, to induce one party to stand aside altogether.

My own experience tells me that in this province there is bound to be one group or party who will always be opposed to those who are put in charge of the Congress organisation. This at least has happened during the last ten years. When the opposition against the present executive of the Provincial Congress Committee crystallised, attempts were made to disarm or to alloy it by resorting to the first two methods indicated above. No solution could, however, be arrived at by working out the constitution and the rules of the Congress, firstly because there was in Bengal a group of Congressmen who were determined to flout the Provincial Congress Committee on every possible occasion and partly because the Working Committee of the Congress failed to deal with indiscipline in a manner that was expected of them. Similarly, no solution could be arrived at on the lines of a compromise between the different sections of Congressmen.

It will be remembered that when the late Pandit Motilal Nehru of revered memory came to Bengal in January 1930 to enquire into the Bengal dispute we were on his suggestion, agreeable to compromise but the other parties were not. After Panditji's award was given it was expected that the dispute would end but that hope was not realised. The same oppositionist and separatist tendency manifested itself on the occasion of the Municipal Elections of 1930 and in the formation of the Civil Disobedience Committee. When truce between the Congress and the Government was effected this year, it was expected that we would turn over a new chapter. Once again we were disappointed. Opposition to the Provincial Congress Committee continued. It first manifested itself in the formation of rival Congress

Committees in the Districts and a rival B.P.C.C., called the Provincial Congress Sangha. This was followed by an open revolt against the Provincial Congress Committee at the time of the last election, in May last. Thereafter the Working Committee appointed an arbitrator to go into the whole question and give his award. Once again it was hoped that the appointment of an arbitrator would bring about the cessation of hostilities. But when the Provincial Congress Committee proceeded to form the Flood Relief Committee and invited all parties to join, the oppositionists refused to co-operate and constituted a separate committee. This was followed by an appeal from Mr. J. M. Sen Gupta in his election manifesto calling upon the Congress councillors of the Corporation to break away from the Congress Municipal Association and form a separate party. That separate party has already been formed and it has effected an open alliance with the European and nominated groups in the Corporation.

To summarise what I have said above, we have failed to restore unity in the ranks of Congressmen in Bengal through the working of the Congress constitution or through a compromise. The fact stares us in the face that Congressmen in Bengal stand divided today and the Government and our enemies are making capital out of the situation. Those who are in charge of the organisation today are not able to secure the co-operation of all parties. We feel that for the present dissensions it is not we who are to blame but the oppositionists. Nevertheless, the man in the street, the average member of the public, does not stop to enquire which party is to blame and he wants a solution of the dispute at any cost and by any means. I have no doubt that I am interpreting the mind of Bengal correctly when I say that Bengal today demands an end of the present dissensions even if the most drastic measures be necessary for bringing about that consummation. The recent happenings in this province have made the demand for unity all the more insistent. On the one hand several lakhs of our countrymen are in the grip of flood and famine. On the other hand our countrymen in Chittagong have been subjected to inhuman suffering and untold misery. Thirdly about 800 of our best men are still

suffering incarceration for the crime of patriotism.

My close associates and fellow workers are aware that for a long time I have been seriously thinking of restoring unity in the ranks of Congressmen by adopting the third course, that is by voluntarily resigning from the Executive of the Provincial Congress Committee. The conviction has daily strengthened in my mind that no useful purpose can be served by retaining office, if the co-operation of all sections of Congressmen is not secured. Retention of office today is no longer a help but is a positive hindrance to national service.

Whatever hesitation I felt in resorting to the third course has finally been removed as a result of the terrible shock which the staggering news from the Hijli Detention Camp has given me. The indescribable sufferings of our countrymen in prison and outside are to us a Divine Warning that we should close up our ranks and present a united front to our enemies.

I am, therefore, submitting my resignation of the office of President of the Provincial Congress Committee as well as Alderman of the Calcutta Corporation. While doing this I appeal to all that is great and noble in my fellow congressmen in Bengal and earnestly implore them to rise to the occasion and once for all put an end to the present dissensions. I can assure them that I am a stern disciplinarian myself and I bear no ill-will against anybody. I shall be content to work in the capacity of an ordinary humble Congressman and whoever may occupy the Presidential chair will be able to commandeer my services. If Bengal can be saved as a result of my self-effacement I shall be happy to pay that price and I shall feel more than amply rewarded if my countrymen will in exchange give me a corner in their hearts.

CONDITION OF DETENUS IN THE HIJLI CAMP AND AT KHARAGPUR RAILWAY HOSPITAL

Statement on the situation at Hijli and Kharagpur
19 September 1931.

Along with Sjs. J. M. Sen Gupta, Nripen Banerji, Dr. Charu Banerji and Mrs. Banerji, Sj. Sushil Roy Chowdhury and other co-workers I visited Kharagpur yesterday (Friday). Kumar Debendra Lal Khan, Sjts. Sailaja Sen and Ram Sunder Singh also joined us. We were not allowed to visit the Hijli Camp but I saw several detenus at the railway Hospital at Kharagpur including those who were injured. I also had occasion during my visit to ascertain the truth of the press reports that have appeared in the papers. I am now in a position to say that what has appeared in the press is rather an under-estimation. The assault on the detenus was unprovoked and diabolical in character. Sjs. Santosh Mitra and Tarakeswar Sen have died bravely and the country will honour them for ever as Martyrs. Sjs. Gobinda Dutta and Sashindra Ghosh are in a serious condition in the railway hospital. The condition of Sj. Krishnapada Banerji, Sudhir Sen, Sabita Rai Chowdhury, who are in hospital is causing anxiety as also that of Sj. Ashutosh Hazra who is in the Hijli Camp.

All the detenus are on hunger-strike and they will continue it till a non-official committee is appointed. So far the detenus have been allowed to attend the injured in hospital but it is apprehended that this facility will be discontinued from tomorrow (Sunday). In that case trouble is likely to arise again. I earnestly appeal to the local authorities not to be cruel and to permit the detenus to nurse their sick friends in hospital.

I have come back from Kharagpur pained and humiliated to an indescribable degree. Our Comrades in Jail are being killed and shot at like cats and dogs. In these circumstances should we still fight and quarrel? Let us sink all differences and close up our ranks in the presence of our enemies. I have already said in my statement which has appeared in today's paper that henceforth I shall be an humble servant of the people ready to serve them in any capacity that may be demanded of me and ready also to efface myself to my utmost capacity. I am glad to find that several of my friends have already congratulated me on the step that I have taken in resigning all positions and this has confirmed me in my belief that I have interpreted the mind of Bengal correctly. Let us hope that through our efforts Bengal will soon recover her former prestige and glory.

THE INDIVIDUAL SHOULD MERGE HIMSELF IN THE NATION

Speech to the Congressmen on Unity, 20 September 1931

After many days all the parties and groups in Bengal politics have gathered on the same platform. The only silver lining in the sky which has been made pitch-dark by the gloom of sorrow, pain and humiliation is the attempt of Congressmen to unite. The blood of the martyr is the seed of the church. So on this day the only cry that rings out of the heart is, let on the blood of the martyrs be built up the edifice of union. If after what has happened, Bengalees fail to unite then one can rightly say, Bengalees, you disappear from the face of the earth, you need not overburden the earth by your worthless load. But I have faith in my people ; I revere it. I believe on the blood of the martyrs, the edifice of union will be built.

The ruthless affairs needs no expatiation. But there is one question. Assuming for arguments' sake that all that was told in the official "communique" was true, what was the reason. What was the justification for showering bullets inside the rooms ? And the persons who were shot were not ordinary criminals—thieves and robbers—but the cream of the nation, it may be, soured by anti-Government feeling. But according to international ethics, they are entitled to the treatment to which the prisoners of war are entitled. There is absolutely no reason why the state prisoners of Bengal should not at least get the treatment which the prisoners of war get. While I was imprisoned at Behrampur, the District Magistrate smilingly told me, "the only course left for us is to put you against a wall and shoot you", to which I also smilingly replied, "that is alright ; if you do so it will produce such a conflagration as will consume you all". This is as the President has said, the last gasp of arbitrary authority in India. The writing on the wall is clear. Power is slipping out of the hands of unjust authority. They see the awakening of the masses on all sides and sense the end of their days. English writers like Seeley and Townshend predicted that "the Empire which rose in a day would vanish in a night".

The Britisher owed his position in this country to the divisions and differences among the people. Englishmen did not like the Bengalees, specially young Bengalees. But when the emotionalism that lay hidden in Bengalees would be released it would carry everything before them and it would conquer.

So far as Bengal was concerned the terms of the Truce were never carried out. Ever since the Truce was signed repression had gone on in Bengal in full swing. The state prisoners were not released, no consideration was shown to those under sentence of death, the conspiracy cases were not withdrawn and every day there were fresh arrests and detentions. Where was the truce ? Where was the change of heart ? Where there was no heart there could not be any question of a change. Individual Englishmen might be of kindly disposition but when the Englishmen sit round a table and formulate their policy they bid good-bye to dictates of the heart. They cry for repression and more repression.

Bengalees were an eye-sore to Englishmen for their independent spirit and hankering after absolute freedom. For the last thirty years Bengal had strived and suffered for it and that was why they were so eager to crush them. Before power was finally given up there would be reproduction in Bengal of what the Black and Tans did in Ireland. That would be the acid test of the patriotism of Bengal and prove if Bengal was prepared to pay the price for complete independence.

I am confident that Bengal—Young Bengal—will not rise to the full height of her stature. Bengal knows and realises the price for Independence. If my countrymen are prepared to pay that price, let them ask for complete independence. Otherwise, let them bend down before their masters and accept what crumbs are offered them and entertain the delusion that was independence.

The policy of frightfulness would not cow down Bengal. Bengal had produced outstanding personalities but her great failing had been that her sons often lacked cohesion and unity of action. Time has come when the individual should merge himself in the nation. Bengalees so richly endowed by nature failed so often because of their inability to do so.

They would have to think out the plan of action coolly and calmly and then to set out to put it into action. After what had happened in Chittagong and Hijli they could not sit quiet. But first of all they must present a United front.

All the state prisoners looked forward to them for redress. It was up to them to show that all their sufferings and sorrows had not been in vain.

Those who made these charges really did not believe them. Otherwise they would not have been outside the prisons by this time. These charges were really made in order to sow the seeds of disruption and differences in the congress ranks.

So far as I am concerned if my retirement from the Congress advances the course of the Congress I shall most willingly do so. If I understand that my effacement will bring the country nearer to freedom I shall most willingly undertake to do it. I shall allow myself most gladly, indeed I shall deem it a privilege to be reduced to dust, if I am told that that will unite the nation in the fight for independence. I am, as I have said, an humble worker of the nation. I do not claim any power or position except that I want a corner in the heart of my countrymen.

The individual must learn to sacrifice himself in the interest of all. No spirit of bargaining should animate their action.

SERIOUS SITUATION IN JAMSHEDPUR

Statement on 24 September 1931

The situation in Jamshedpur is such as calls for serious notice on the part of the public. Having successfully prosecuted Mr. Maneck Homi, President of the Labour Federation and stopped all activities of the Labour Federation the Tata Iron and Steel Company are out to crush the Labour Association also. A mass meeting of the workers called on Sunday last for discussion of the workers' grievances was broken up by hooligans and over thirty men were seriously injured. It is now the talk of the town that the companys' agents were responsible for organising hooligans and names of certain well-known officers of the Company are being openly mentioned in this connection.

The general Council of the Labour Association have asked the Government to appoint a Committee to enquire into Sunday's incidents. But whether this is done or not the Board of Directors of the Tata's have a duty in this matter. If the company have a reputation to lose, they should immediately appoint a Committee of enquiry. I am in a position to state that if an impartial committee is appointed and witnesses are not victimised, it will be proved to the hilt that some of the company's agents at the instance of some of the Company's officers were responsible for the incidents of Sunday last. Since then matters have not improved.

I had a social engagement yesterday in the outskirts of the town and elaborate arrangements were made for attack on us by the hooligans. Fortunately, our men were forewarned and were prepared for self-defence and so the contemplated attack did not take place. I have information that the goondas of the town are still active and are looking out for further opportunity to attack us. It is superfluous to say that the behaviour of the Company has staggered us. If they think that hooligan tactics will crush labour or demoralise us, they are very much mistaken. They will have to deal with men quite different from the officials of the Labour Federation. On this occasion, I came to Jamshedpur for one day but after what has happened, I have cancelled all other engagements and decided to stay on here. If at one place the employers can crush the Labour by resorting to goonda tactics, they will repeat the experiment everywhere. Therefore, we are now faced with a life and death question and we have to fight the Company to a finish by all peaceful and legitimate means.

I would like to warn the Tatas not to continue these tactics any longer. They will have to answer before the bar of public opinion for what they have done or may do in future and they are dealing with men who will not hesitate to sacrifice their lives in the pursuit of a just cause. Already the Company's dalals and agents have by their conduct provoked all sections of the workers and feeling against them is running high in every department in the works. Any further provocation may lead to exasperation and precipitate an industrial crisis. So far as we are concerned, we are determined to stand for Labour and boldly face all risks and consequences that may arise.

INTERVIEW WITH THE DETENUS ON HUNGER-STRIKE IN HIJLI CAMP NOT PERMITTED

Statement on 1 October 1931

Sj. Satindra Nath Sen and I arrived at Kharagpur on Tuesday morning by the Down Bombay Mail. We took the earliest opportunity of applying for an interview with the detenus, who were on hunger-strike. We met the Commandant, Mr. Baker, who told us that without the order of Government he could not permit us to interview the detenus. I pointed out that we had come to persuade our detenu friends to give up the hunger-strike and it was within the discretion of the Commandant of the Hijli Camp to grant the interview if he thought fit. When I was a detenu under the Ordinance, in similar cases when hunger-strike had been resorted to by the detenus, the Jail Superintendent had used his discretion in allowing interview with us. But the Commandant said in reply that he could not grant an interview and suggested to me that I should wire to the Writer's Buildings for permission. I said that if he personally was not opposed to the interview, it would expedite matters if he referred our case to the Government for orders over the telephone. To this he agreed and it was arranged that we should call on him at 1 P.M. and by then he might be able to get some reply from the Government.

At 1 P.M. when we drove to the Hijli Camp, our carriage was held up on the way by sepoys, who said that they had no orders to allow us to proceed. We told the sepoy and the havildar that we were going to see the Commandant at 1 P.M. by appointment and that we had not been obstructed in that fashion in the morning. But he proved to be adamant and I wrote to the Commandant saying that without a written permit from him we were not being allowed to proceed to his office. The Commandant replied to my letter saying that it was not good for us to proceed any further. He had telephoned to Mr. Hutchings, who had told him that he could not himself give the permission for the interview but that he would consult Mr. Prentice. He further said that it would not be possible for us to interview the detenus the same day. All our effors to obtain an interview with the detenus proved to be of no avail. Fortunately in the morning we met Sj. Amarendra Nath Chatterjee, who was going to see his younger brother Sj. Barendra Nath Chatterjee at the Hijli Detention Camp. We told him that we were trying to have an interview with the detenus but we did not know whether the desired permission would come. In case we did not get the permission, we requested Amarendra Babu to convey our wishes to the detenus that they should discontinue the hunger-strike in keeping with the desire of the public.

HARASSMENT AT NAWAPARA POLICE STATION

Statement on 14 October 1931

The organisers of the Bengal Jute Workers' Conference have informed me that they will not be able to hold the Conference today. Today being a working day, it will be difficult if not impossible for the workers to attend the Conference. Further, owing to the size of the audience the Conference will have to be an open-air one inspite of the spacious shamiana and owing to the inclement weather, it will be difficult to hold the Conference in the open. The organisers have also insisted that I shall not visit Jagatdal today but on the day on which the Conference will be held. Arrangements are afoot for holding the adjourned session of the conference at an early date this week. In the meantime, I have received an urgent call from Hijli. I am therefore leaving for Hijli today by the Bombay mail and shall be back tomorrow.

Along with Sj. T. C. Goswami, the Chairman of the Reception Committee of the Bengal Jute Workers Conference, I proceeded to Jagatdal on Sunday afternoon. Before I reached the limits of Jagatdal thana and when I was within the jurisdiction of Nawapara Thana our car was held up by police pickets. The road had been barricaded with the help of carts at the point. The police officer told me that he had orders to ask me to return to Calcutta failing which he would have to arrest and take me to the Nawapara Thana. Before I got down from the car I warned the Police Officer that he was doing an illegal act which would make him liable because he was arresting me before I got into Jagatdal thana jurisdiction. He said he was helpless as he was acting under orders. After I got down, the Police Officer who declared himself to be the Officer-in-charge of the Nawapara Police station told me that I could drive to the thana if I so desired, in order to avoid walking. He deputed two constables to take charge of me and these constables boarded the car (Sj. Goswami's car) which took me in the Nawapara Thana where I arrived at about 5 P.M.

After arriving at the Thana the higher officers were all rung up by the Officer-in-charge. But considerable time elapsed before they could arrive. Ultimately at about 6.30 or 7 P.M. the S.D.O. (Mr. Worth), the A.S.P. (Mr. Bemrose) and Inspector Mackenzie arrived. Judging from their costumes the first two seemed to come straight from the club. (I also learnt later on that they were at the club when they were rung up) and the last named officer himself said that he had come from the football field. Thus the three highest local officials were comfortably at their sports at a time when according to them a serious breach of the peace was apprehended, owing to which the second sitting of the Jute Workers' Conference had to be prohibited and an order under Sec. 144 Cr. P. C. had to be served on me prohibiting me from entering Jagatdal Thana Elaka. No doubt a grand rally of Police, armed as well as unarmed, had been staged in Jagatdal and the neighbouring Railway stations but if there was really a serious apprehension of breach of the peace the three highest local officials could not have been at their games at Barrackpur at a distance of nearly 10 miles from the limits of Jagatdal Thana. I also learnt from reliable quarter that the S.D.O. was in his bungalow at Barrackpur till 4.30 P.M. when he left straight for the club and as I have already said he did not come to Nawapara Thana till 6.30 or 7 P.M. The S.D.O. also told me that he had not heard anything about the Jute Workers' Conference held on Saturday till about 10 A.M. on Sunday morning. He also admitted that if there had been a row at the Conference on Saturday evening the matter would have been reported to him.

My warning to the Inspector of Nawapara Thana probably had a salutary effect and the S.D.O. told me on Saturday evening at the Thana that he would let me go if I undertook to go back to Calcutta and not come to Jagatdal. I told him in reply that whatever the consequences might be, I could not give him or any Government officer any assurance about my movements and that I would take the earliest opportunity of proceeding to Jagatdal when I was set free. He said that in that case they could not let me free and that I would have to remain in custody at the Thana.

On Sunday night, instructions were received that if I

did not go gack to Calcutta I was not to be supplied with bedding or with food. But by that time I had already been supplied with that. On Monday morning these instructions were repeated. I was told by the Inspector that under the orders of the District Magistrate I was not to have any interview with anybody or any food or drink. I told him in reply that the non-supply of food or drink would not have any effect on me. During the whole of Monday till mid-night I was not allowed any interview (except in one instance with my brother) nor was I allowed any food or water (except a cup of tea in the morning which was given me before the instructions regarding non-supply of food and water were received at the Thana).

The whole of Monday passed off without any noteworthy incident except that crowds of visitors in successive batches came pouring in towards the thana throughout the day and till late at night. At about 11 p.m., I was roused by the Inspector-in-charge of the thana who told me that under orders he had brought a taxi for me and that I would have to go to Calcutta. I told him that I had already informed the authorities on Sunday night as well as on Monday that I would not give anybody any assurance about my future movements, that I would go wherever I liked when I was set free and that I would refuse to go to Calcutta if I were forced to do so. I further told him that he could not force me to go to a particular place after I was set free. The officer-in-charge had a long conversation with his superior officer over the telephone and told me ultimately that I was free to go wherever I liked and that taxi had been supplied for the purpose. I told him in reply that I would not board a taxi supplied by them because it was possible that the driver of that taxi would not follow my instructions as to where he should drive and I insisted that my own car should be brought down before I could leave the thana. The officer-in-charge of the thana obtained the permission of the A.S.R. and telephoned to my house for the car to be sent down. The car came after mid-night and I left the thana a free man after remaining 31 hours in illegal detention at the Nawapara Thana.

The prohibition of second sitting of the Conference and the order served on me were altogether unwarranted and illegal. I know that some interested agents had tried their level best to break up our conference and they had failed. They had also inspired false reports of the conference in some papers (Viz. Statesman, Advance) on Sunday morning and when we read these false reports we at once anticipated further mischief. These mischief-mongers probably got the help of the mill-owners and managed to get the order under Sec. 144 passed by an officer who on his admission did not know anything about the Jute Workers' Conference till 10 a.m., on Sunday morning. I told the S.D.O. that if he had really apprehended any trouble, he should have restrained the mischief-mongers and not those who wanted to hold a conference peacefully. I also told him that inspite of the efforts of some mischief-mongers I did not apprehend any trouble at the conference. Regarding the communal bogey so glibly trotted out by the S.D.O. and the Police-officer, I told them in reply that the best insurance against any communal trouble was a Labour Conference, because such a Conference provided a platform on which all sections and communities could unite. If the entire story about the promulgation of the order under section 144 were told it would afford very interesting reading but of that later on.

My object in relating these incidents is not to draw attention to the personal discomfort I have suffered. What I desire to emphasize is that a conference of workers, who made such a wonderful response, was prevented not by the local mischief makers, who do not have real influence in the locality, but by the overwhelming resources of local officials which were used in the service of vested interests.

LET BENGAL SAVE HERSELF AGAIN

Statement issued to "Associated Press" on 16 October 1931

I do not feel concerned about the attitude of the Working Committee of the Congress. For some time past I have ceased to expect anything from the Working Committee where Bengal affairs are concerned and I believe that is also the feeling that is gradually gaining ground in this province. In fact, it would not be an exaggeration to say that in many places in Bengal there is positive resentment at the callous indifference of the Working Committee towards the vital problems of Bengal. The best thing for Bengal would be to forget the Working Committee, to stand entirely on her own legs and work out her own salvation. In 1905 Bengal saved herself by her own exertions and there is no reason why she should not do the same in the year 1931. I firmly believe that if Bengal rises to the occasion in face of the present tragedy as she did twenty-five years ago, she will be able to have all her grievances redressed, even if she be unaided by the rest of India. But in order to achieve that, Bengal must stand united, sinking all party differences and forgetting all personalities. I do hope that Bengal will not be lacking in selfless patriotism at the present hour. We want the very best and the noblest in us to come forth in the service of our common cause. The Working Committee may be indifferent to our sufferings but I know it for a fact that the people of other provinces are whole-heartedly with us in the non-violent struggle that we are carrying on now.

The Committee have completed the first stage of the enquiry viz., the recording of evidence. Tomorrow they will hear the argument of both sides. We shall then anxiously await their report. In spite of the Committee being an official one, I do not think that we have anything to complain about their work at Hijli. At least that is my personal view. But how far the findings of the Committee will meet with public satisfaction and approval, it is too early to say. In any case, the evidence recorded by the Committee will be before the public and they will be able to form their own conclusions and draw their own inferences therefrom. I would like to state clearly in this connection that what the public want is not merely a fair and impartial report from the committee but also adequate amends for the grievous wrong that was perpetrated.

With regard to the Chittagong incidents also, the public demand is of a similar character, we want reparation for the helpless and unarmed people of Chittagong on whom terrible losses were inflicted. My personal view is that on the basis of the enquiries made in connection with the Hijli and Chittagong incidents a list of demands should be drawn up on behalf of the public and there should be a campaign for the fulfilment of those demands.

The rights of citizens are being so easily and so frequently trampled upon in Bengal that I feel it would be desirable to have a permanent institution, called the Civil Rights Committee, to deal promptly with all cases of injustices and encroachments on the rights of citizens. If such a committee be strong, active and thoroughly representative, we shall soon be able to end the dark chapter we are now passing through merely through the force of organised public opinion.

GRIEVANCES AND DEMANDS OF JAMSHEDPUR WORKERS

Speech delivered to the workers of the Tata Iron and Steel Co., on 17 October 1931

For sometime past, we have been pressing before the Management the outstanding grievances and demands of the workers of Jamshedpur. We had a Conference with the General Manager on Sunday, the 20th September 1931, at which some of the grievances and demands were discussed. On Friday, the 25th September, I had a further conference with the General Manager at which the following grievances and demands were again discussed with him and a full copy was submitted to him in writing. On Sunday, the 27th Sept., I met Mr. A.R. Dalal, Director, who had arrived from Bombay that morning. I placed some of the grievances before him at the interview. The next day we had a Conference with Mr. Dalal again at which comrades Naidu, Moitra and Moni Ghosh were also present. We discussed in detail the list of grievances and demands already submitted to the General Manager. There is one other question which we

discussed with Mr. Dalal at length, viz., the question of an Enquiry into the incidents of the G. Town Maidan meeting of the 20th September 1931.

It is too early to say what results will come out of the efforts we are making. Much depends on the strength and solidarity of the workers themselves. However, we hope that some improvement will be effected. Already the hours of duty at the General Office have been changed from 9.30 a.m. to 5 p.m. with half an hour recess and a much-desired change has been effected after years of agitation and endeavour.

Grievances and Demands of Workers

1. Restoration of collection of membership subscription from salary bills.
2. The Bar Mill Workers who have been laid off on compulsory leave should be immediately called back and put back to work at their respective rates as per the assurance given by Sir P. Ginwala and the General Manager on the 31st March and 7th April 1931. There should be a remission of house rent for the period the workers have been idle. They should get their wages from September inclusive, since they were assured that the Mills would commence work in September.
3. Full pay should be given for the period the men of the New Rail Mill, New Finishing Mill, Plate Mill and Shipping Department were put off work.
4. All men victimised and discharged on flimsy grounds should be reinstated.
5. All men whose rates were reduced without justification should be restored to their old rates.
6. There should be no reduction of wages in future.
7. Suspensions and other punishments on flimsy grounds and without previous proper investigation should be discontinued and such cases should be reviewed by the Management as early as possible.
8. Compulsory leave should not be resorted to.
9. All undue restrictions at the gates on the movements

of the employees should be withdrawn.

10. Full pay should be given for the periodical off days.

11. The privileges of the daily rated and weekly paid men, including Health Deptt. staff, should be revised and be brought in line with those of the monthly rated men as far as possible.

12. Leave with half pay should be given on medical grounds.

13. Gratuity and pension schemes which have been promised for years should be introduced.

14. The advance loan granted on the settlement of the 1928 dispute should be formally written off as although it is not being recovered from the men in employ, it is being recovered at the time of discharge.

15. Reduced school fees for wards of employees should be restored.

16. Departmental production bonus in departments in which it is not given at present should be given.

17. Enhancement of rents for Land and Quarters should be withdrawn.

18. Those who are not getting the minimum pay of the grade in which they are working should be given same and annual increments as per grade should be given without interruption.

19. Improvements in one-roomed quarters such as Golkholi, R-N-type, Ramdas Bhatta and C. Town should be immediately undertaken.

20. Adequate arrangements should be made for the lighting of Roads and Bustees frequented and occupied by the workers.

21. Adequate arrangements should be made for water supply where such arrangement do not exist.

22. The period of service entitling a woman worker to Maternity Benefit should be reduced from one year to six months.

23. Due consideration should be given to the memorandum of grievances submitted by the clerical staff and timekeepers on 22-7-30 particularly the question of making the general shift continuous.

24. Abolition of the general relieving gang in the time-

keeping department, as it is causing great hardship.

25. The Labour Organisation should be effectively represented on the School Committees, Welfare Committee, and such other public welfare committees.

DEMANDS ON THE BASIS OF ENQUIRIES AT CHITTAGONG AND HIJLI

Statement issued to the Press on 23 October 1931

I am glad to learn that Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel desires to take up in right earnest the important problems that are now confronting Bengal. I only wish that it would have been possible for the Working Committee to meet in Calcutta and I am sorry that inspite of the desire of the Congress President the inconvenience of some members has stood in the way.

I find from the papers that Sardar Patel has said that neither B.P.C.C. nor I had informed him about the Hijli incident. We were all given to understand that Bengal members of the Working Committee were in close communication with the Congress President. Moreover, the B.P.C.C. was without a head at that time, because I resigned the very day I got the news of the Hijli tragedy. The newspapers must have carried the news about the Hijli happenings to all parts of the country.

As I previously intimated the Congress President that owing to previous engagement I may not be able to attend the meeting of the Working Committee at Delhi on the 27th instant. I have to leave for Goila in Barisal to perform the ceremony of inferring the sacred ashes of martyr Tarakeswar Sen and it was not possible to put off or avoid a public function of such a sacred character. Nevertheless the present President of the B.P.C.C. will, I hope, attend the Working Committee meeting and place all the facts about Bengal before that body.

I have already indicated my views publicly. We shall have to formulate our demands on the basis of the enquiries held at Chittagong and Hijli. These demands must include the immediate and unconditional release of all detenus and adequate safeguards against a repetition of such tragic incidents in future. Further we should demand adequate amends for the grievous wrong perpetrated on our countrymen. Once these demands are formulated, I propose to undertake a raging and tearing campaign in the country for the fulfilment of these demands. We must keep up the sacred flames that consigned to ashes the bodies of martyr Santosh Mitra and Tarakeshwar Sen. The tragedies of Chittagong and Hijli have cast lengthening shadows all over the country. The lesson of our servitude and humiliation have been burnt deep into our soul. Between England and India lie the corpses of Santosh Mitra and Tarakeswar Sen, lest we forget, lest we forget !

"Free Press"

DEPRIVED OF PERSONAL LIBERTY AND HARASSED

Statement from Chandpur on 10 November 1931

I arrived at Narayanganj on Saturday the 7th November 1931 accompanied by Sjs. J. C. Gupta, Narendra Narayan Chakravarti, Hemendra Nath Das Gupta and Abinash Bhattacharya from Calcutta for enquiring into the situation at Dacca. It will be remembered that three of us had been appointed members of the Dacca Enquiry Committee at a public meeting held at the Albert Hall in Calcutta on Thursday the 5th November.

When the steamer reached Narayanganj Ghat, several police officers and constables as also the Sub-Divisional Officers of Narayanganj boarded the steamer. A launch also drew alongside the steamer in which we had travelled. Soon after, I was approached by a European police officer (who later on transpired to be Mr. Ellison, the Acting Superintendent of Police) and served with an order under Section 144 Cr. P. C. ordering me to refrain from entering the district of Dacca for a period of two months—this order being signed by Mr. Gladding, the District Magistrate of Dacca. I was then asked by Mr. Ellison to step into the launch which would carry me to the steamer leaving Narayanganj straight for Goalundo. He also asked me to hurry up because the down mail steamer was being detained because of me. I said that my destination was Dacca and so long as I was a free man I would travel towards Dacca. I also said that the order was absurd, illegal and uncalled for and I had no intention to obey it. Mr. Ellison then had some consultation with the S.D.O. of Narayanganj and others and coming up to me placed his hand on my shoulder and said "I arrest you". He then said that I would have to get into the launch and reach the mail steamer travelling from Narayanganj to Goalundo. I protested saying that if I disobeyed the order under Section 144 I could be prosecuted under Section 188 but I could not be forcibly externed from Dacca District in this fashion. The Acting Superintendent of Police would not listen to me and said that those were his instruction and my luggage was then sent over to the launch. However, I again protested against what clearly appeared to be illegal action on the part of the Government and Police Officers. This caused Mr. Ellison to pause and he had another consultation with the S.D.O. of Narayanganj and other officers. Finally he came up to me and said that I would have to land and go up to the thana with him and as I was under arrest I followed him ashore. There he put me into a car and drove to the thana. At first he told me that I would have to be at the thana for a minute but later on I found that I had to remain there for over 2 hours. At the thana the Officers had a further long conversation and after some time Mr. Ellison came up and said that I had not been arrested but that I had been placed under police protection. He also asked me to go gack to Calcutta and obey the order but he remarked at the same time that he knew at the outset that I would disobey the order. He also asked me what had happened at Jagatdal when a similar order under Section 144 Cr. P. C. had been served on me. In reply I said that if I was not under arrest I proposed to walk away. My destination was Dacca and I wanted to reach that place. As for Jagatdal, I said that the authorities soon after my arrest realised their mistake and not only set me free, but also withdrew the order prohibiting me from holding meetings in that area. I then asked Mr. Ellison what he would do if in view of my offence being non-cognisable, I demanded to be let out on bail. In that case they could not prevent me from remaining within Dacca. Mr. Ellison and the S.D.O. at this point went away and had a long consultation elsewhere and were probably in telephonic communication with the Magistrate who was then at Dacca, ten miles from Narayanganj. In the meantime I was getting restless. I asked the thana officer whether in view of what Mr. Ellison had remarked before he left, I was to consider myself still under arrest or not. The thana officer could not enlighten me and he telephoned to the Acting S. P. The latter replied that he was coming along presently. After some time he came and told me that I was not under arrest but under "virtual restraint". I told that I wanted a straight and clear reply as to whether I was legally still under arrest or not. I had once been arrested on the boat and I followed the Acting Superintendent of Police to the thana simply because I was under arrest. If I had been free at the time I would not have come to the thana. Mr. Ellison tried to wriggle out of the difficulty. He would not give a straight reply and went on repeating that I was under "virtual restraint". When I referred to the arrest on the boat, I was told that that was a misunderstanding. I replied that there was no misunderstanding about that arrest, though it might have been a mistake to have arrested me there. I then said that since I was no longer under legal arrest, I would make a move and I actually got up and began to move. Mr. Ellison then caught hold of my arm and prevented me from moving. This happened twice. I strongly protested against this illegal conduct on the part of a police officer and said that I should either be legally arrested or I should be set at liberty. I could not be deprived of my liberty in that manner by sheer physical force. I also warned him that he was making himself liable under the law by behaving in that manner. He said that he was protected because he was an officer acting under orders. I said that that fact could not save him from liability under the law. But my words had absolutely no effect to him. At about 4 P.M. he got up and said that I would have to accompany him to the Chandpur Mail steamer where I would be put on board and sent out of Dacca District. I said I would refuse to go because according to him I was not under arrest. Then he caught me by the hand and pulled me along for some distance. Finding that he was intent on using physical force for the purpose, I yielded and I said in the presence of several people that I was submitting not to a legal order but to sheer physical force.

Immediately before I left the thana for the steamer ghat I told Mr. Ellison that since he was forcing me physically to leave Dacca District, I wanted to leave instructions with my lawyers for taking any legal proceedings that they may think necessary against the illegal conduct of responsible Government officers. Sj. Narendra Narayan Chakravarty was with me at the time and I asked him to bring some lawyers. But Mr. Ellison said that he would not permit any lawyer to interview me and he asked Naren Babu to return. Later on Mr. Ellison said that he would permit Mr. J. C. Gupta only to interview me but he did not wait for Mr. Gupta to come and see me before I left the thana. However, Mr. Gupta saw me on board the steamer and I explained to him the circumstances under which I had been brought to the steamer by force and was being sent out of Dacca District.

Sjs. J. C. Gupta, Hemendranath Das Gupta and Narendra Narayan Chakravarti were near me during the great part of the time and they can bear personal testimony to what I have narrated above.

When the steamer was about to leave Narayanganj, a large crowd had gathered at the ghat and they began to cheer me. This was too much for Mr. Ellison of Bandabilla fame and he got down from the steamer and along with the constables began to chase the crowd with lathis.

Mr. Ellison and the police escort remained aboard the steamer till Munshiganj was reached. At Munshiganj Ghat the police escort began to alight and I then told Mr. Ellison that since I was to follow him, I would also get down. This rather alarmed the acting S. P., who ordered all the planks forming the bridge to the ghat to be removed with the exception of only one. When the police party had all crossed over, he hurriedly passed over and the plank was immediately withdrawn so that I could not follow him ashore. The steamer at once began to move.

In these circumstances I have been forced to come to Chandpur. My luggage was sent to Dacca under the instructions of the S.P. and I sent for it when I found that they were bent on sending me out of Dacca. But the luggage did not arrive. The S. P. told me that he would arrange for some bedding for me, if my bedding did not arrive in time; but nothing was actually done. As for my ticket, I was given a pass only up to Gazaria, the next station beyond Munshiganj. I told the S. P. when he gave me the pass, that he was compelling me to break the law by travelling without ticket beyond Gazaria upto Chandpur—but that also had no effect on him.

In the light of the facts stated above I think I am justified in repeating the statement I so often make that in this unfortunate country we do not possess any right in the matter of our personal freedom. We are entirely at the mercy of local officials. I also feel that in Dacca there is much that the local officials will not permit to see the light of day. They are terribly afraid of being exposed and that seems to be the only reason why they have served the order under Section 144 on me. However, I hope that the Enquiry Committee will fearlessly start and pursue their enquiries. So far as I am concerned, it is hardly necessary to say that I shall make a further attempt to reach Dacca but what results I shall achieve, it is too early to say.

The public have already heard a lot about the alarming incidents going on in Dacca. I want them to realise that the only way they can prevent further oppression is to expose fearlessly the conduct of the local officials. If I am deprived of my liberty as appears almost certain, I earnestly hope that my comrades outside will carry on this work fearlessly and unflinchingly.

SELF-RESPECT, MANHOOD AND RIGHTS OF THE PEOPLE TRAMPLED

Message at the time of his arrest, 12 November 1931

Remember Chittagong and Hijli. They are not local but national wrong. Nothing short of full redress and reparation for these wrongs will satisfy us. I appeal to my countrymen to stand by the public demands made by us for the redress of the Chittagong and Hijli wrong and carry as a nationwide campaign.

The Bengal Provincial Conference will meet shortly and lay down a programme of action. I suggest that if in the meantime the Government do not meet our demands we should launch a campaign for the boycott of British goods along with picketing. I hope the Bengal Provincial Conference will give a definite lead to Bengal in this matter.

Chittagong and Hijli atrocities present a problem which concerns not the Bengal Congress men alone but the people of Bengal as a whole. If the Congress organisations fail in their duty...and I am sure that they will not...there is no reason why the people should not take up the question. Self-respect, manhood and rights of the people have been trampled under foot and it is the duty of the people to vindicate them. In the last resort if the need arises I hope the public will constitute an organisation for the redress of Chittagong and Hijli wrongs and carry on the campaign till success is attained. Lest we forget I appeal to my countrymen all over India to observe the 16th day of every month as a Chittagong and Hijli day.

HIJLI AND CHITTAGONG OUTRAGES MUST BE REMEDIED

Speech at Harish Park, 26 November 1931

Though I have reiterated, times without number, our duty at this juncture, I think it necessary, because the matter is of the gravest importance, affecting our national self-respect that we should launch a whirlwind campaign to explain it to our countrymen.

Being accustomed to repression, we may not be able to gauge the gravity of the situation, but if we closely look into the matter, we shall see that it is for us a question of life and death. Outrages, as at Chittagong are not new, but its novelty lies in the fact that allegations have been brought by the non-official enquiry committee that the local officials could on no account be exonerated from the responsibility in those matters. As yet there is no reply to that serious charge and until we get a reply it is not illogical to conclude that there is truth underlying the charge. If the Government do not give any reply, the country will take the charge to be true, but if they have got something to say let them state it without any further delay.

The Chittagong affair is not a local grievance, for the same thing may happen anytime and anywhere in the country. So, if we remain indifferent to such outrages, the Government will think that we are absolutely powerless to remedy them, and such things, even of a more serious nature, will continue to happen.

Lakhs of people, at a few hour's notice, assembled to receive the dead bodies of Santosh and Tarakeswar and took them in procession through the streets of Calcutta. What impelled them to do so ? Because they realised that the Hijli outrage may be re-enacted anywhere and that they had the right to guarantee the safety of their lives. The Hijli atrocities is greater than that of the Jalianwallabagh, because here mere the lives and persons or people who are confined without trial and who, to our mind, are innocent, are in the custody of the Government and every one down to a constable was responsible for their safety. This incident showed our helplessness.

If we claim and really entertain the belief that we are men, then it is our duty to show that we are men and not sheep. Those who pose as our guardians of law and order are paying scant care to our life and property.

We are directly or indirectly responsible for this state of things. In the Congress sessions at Calcutta in 1920 and at Nagpur in the next year demands for redress of the Punjab and the Khilafat grievances were given precedence over the demand of Swaraj. I was at a loss to understand why it was done, but I now realise the cause. Our lives and property must be the primary consideration and swaraj a secondary one. We must first establish our rights as regards our lives and property. If we cannot establish it, we should have no right to settle the greater question of Swaraj. If Bengal had acquiesced in the policy of Partition, then she would not have been able to put up such glorious fights in her struggle for Swaraj. We are faced with a similar problem, a similar danger, this time too.

The weak, starving Bengalee brought about the unsettling of a settled fact. They have tasted victory. It is time now to show their strength. They should organise themselves and put up a bold fight. If we tolerate these things now, the powers will think that we are ready to tolerate anything. Show by your action that on no account you are going to tolerate these things.

Those who tolerate repression are greater criminals than those who administer it. Let five crores of Bengalees demand in one voice, that they want the remedy. Let all other grievances be sacrificed to these issues. Small doses of repression commenced with the Ordinances and Special Tribunals. Chittagong and Hijli came in the wake and if we tolerate these, greater and heavier repression may be in store for us in Calcutta.

The public demands regarding Hijli and Chittagong have already been formulated and these should be the bases of our campaign. If we keep silent we shall be the laughing stock of the whole civilised world. There is no time for rest. Hijli and Chittagong must be remedied.

BOYCOTT PROGRAMME

Statement before leaving for Khulna, 17 December 1931

Eleven days have elapsed since the boycott resolution was passed at Berhampore, but it is to be regretted that up till now that resolution has not been confirmed by the B.P.C.C. and it has not been sent up to the Working Committee for formal approval. We were emphatically assured by Messrs Rajendra Prasad, Nariman and Aney at Berhampore that the Working Committee would sanction any programme that would be sent up from Bengal. Much time has, therefore, been uselessly wasted. However, since the Working Committee is meeting on the 29th of December next, I hope that the Joint Committee of the B.P.C.C. will in good time confirm the boycott resolution and send it up for the formal approval of the Working Committee.

In the meantime, let the Congress organisations and other bodies all over the province make all necessary arrangements for giving effect to the boycott resolution. The collection of necessary funds, the enlistment of volunteers and the publication of necessary literature will naturally take a lot of time and these preliminary arrangements should commence immediately. On my return from Khulna I shall leave for Poona and Bombay. At Bombay I hope to meet Mahatma Gandhi on his return from England and as soon as the boycott programme is formally approved by the Working Committee we shall launch the campaign without delay.

God willing, I hope to convene a conference of representative workers from the districts early in January in order to devise ways and means for giving effect to the boycott programme simultaneously all over the province.

DESPITE TRUCE REPRESSION WENT ON

Text of Presidential address at the Maharashtra Youth Conference, 22 December 1931

Youth all over the world is impatient with the present order of things. It has a dream, a vision of its own—a vision of a better order of things, and it is now gathering strength everywhere to translate that dream into reality. We may be dreamers and visionaries but we firmly believe that dreams of to-day can become the realities of tomorrow. Inspired by this faith we are now engaged in a serious battle with the stern realities and obstacles of the day in order to create for ourselves and our countrymen a new social, economic and political order.

I know there are some who think that a full dose of freedom is not good for us, as it may lead to license. We have no quarrel with them, but neither shall we waste our time and energy by trying to argue with them. We shall only say this that there is some fundamental difference between them and ourselves. We believe that freedom is for all and that the more of it we can have the better for ourselves and for the human race... But, friends, the voice of youth cannot easily make itself heard. Attempts to muzzle it are often made. But even the muzzled voice can be heard by those who take the trouble of straining their ears. So far as our country is concerned I am constrained to say that even within the partake of the Indian National Congress the voice of youth cannot always make itself heard. As a result of this you sometimes notice a conflict between Congress organisation and Youth movement in some parts of this country. To those who are in charge of our Congress organisation, I would earnestly appeal to admit into the Congress fold all the radical elements in our society. These radical elements constitute the strength of a party or organisation and to my mind, it is neither safe nor desirable to exclude from our ranks any element that may be radical in outlook.

The debacle that has overtaken the Round Table Conference is in my humble opinion due largely to the fact that at the time of the ill-starred Truce, the voice of youth was more or less ignored. The Round Table Conference should really have been confined to the 'belligerent' parties. Unfortunately, even the loyalists, Communalists and Nondescripts were admitted to the Round Table Conference and their main object seemed to be not the promotion of the cause of India's freedom but the creation of obstacles in the path of genuine nationalists. In these circumstances, is it surprising that the Conference should end in smoke? The Round Table Conference of to-day reminds me of the Irish Convention which was meant to be a trap for Sein-Feiners of Ireland. But while the Sein Feiners steered clear of this pitfall, we seem to have walked into it. The position would have been quite different today if at the time of the Truce, we had insisted that only belligerent parties should be represented at the Conference and if we had extracted from the British Government the promise that the fundamental demands of the Indian people as embodied in the Karachi Resolution would be conceded and the Conference would meet only for the purpose of discussing details. This was not done. Consequently, the Conference met not to discuss the exact form of Swaraj which India was to get—but whether India was to get Swaraj at all or any fractional dose of it. And all sorts of people were set up to oppose the demand for Swaraj made on behalf of Indian National Congress by its Sole Representative Mahatma Gandhi.

The responsibility for the mistake committed at the time of Truce should attach not merely to the supreme executives of the Congress but also to the Government of India. I should say that the responsibility of the Government was even greater in this matter. At a time when truce terms were being discussed two militant groups in this country represented by the Revolutionary prisoners and the Meerut Conspiracy case prisoners were altogether ignored. Lord Irwin was informed and advised that if peace was to be established, it would be neither safe nor advisable to ignore these two militant groups in the country but that advice was of no avail. The proclamation of Truce brought about the release of the Satyagraha prisoners but the

Meerut Conspiracy case and the other Revolutionary Conspiracy cases in different parts of the country went on in full swing. And the revolutionary prisoners confined in different Jails all over India were either forgotten or ignored. In addition to these two groups the non-release of the detenus who had been imprisoned without trial was the most serious blunder.

Then again, while there was nominally a truce between the Congress and the Government of India, repression went on merrily. The number of detenus in confinement without trial began to swell from day to day. The degree of repression also began to increase as also the variety. Then there was continued provocation offered by the Government, through their policy which the Congress was unable to stop or to prevent. When this provocation caused a feeling of exasperation among the full-blooded youths and led to unfortunate acts of terrorism—the Anglo-Indian press and agents of the bureaucracy whom we regard as responsible for official terrorism, began to throw all the blame on the Congress and the representatives of the Congress. The inability of the Congress to stop what I would call official terrorism is largely responsible for the weakening of the hold of the Congress on the youths in some parts of the country and particularly in Bengal. If the Congress had been able to checkmate the repressive policy of the Bureaucracy, the appeal of the Congress in terms of non-violence would have been simply irresistible. But as matters stand it has to be admitted that the repeated appeals made by us in the press and on the platform for maintaining non-violence had not their desired effect.

I am firmly of opinion that as soon as Mahatma Gandhi arrives in India, he should be requested to send an ultimatum to the Government, when the Government have shown by their action that they have ended the Truce. I do not understand why the Congress should cling to the shadow of the truce, the substance having vanished altogether.

CONGRESS SHOULD ADOPT A BOLD POLICY

Speech at the Maharashtra Youth Conference at Shivaji Mandir, 24 December 1931

There cannot be any doubt in any quarter that we are now hungering for freedom. This hunger is acute and intense. Freedom that we are hankering after is full all-round freedom. Once the hunger for freedom has been roused in us, that hunger can't be quenched until we have a full dose of it.

The first taste of freedom may tend to unbalance us—it may even cause a reeling sensation—but it is bound to sober us before long and then we shall find that freedom is the source of infinite strength and irresistible power. At the time of the "ill-starred" Delhi truce the voice of the youth was ignored with the result that many prisoners, along with the detenus remained unreleased, and while there was truce between the Congress and the Government, repression provoked feelings of exasperation among the youths, which led to unfortunate acts of terrorism.

If the Congress had been able to checkmate the repressive policy of the Government, the appeal of the Congress in favour of non-violence would have been irresistible. But as matters stood, it had to be admitted that their appeal for non-violence have not had its desired effect.

I am firmly of opinion that as soon as Mahatma Gandhi arrives in India he should be requested to send an ultimatum to the Government that unless the repressive measures, adopted by the Government in different places, were immediately withdrawn, it would be impossible for him to continue co-operaton with the Round Table Conference. When Government have shown by their action that they had ended the truce, I don't understand why the Congress should cling to the shadow of the truce, while the substance has vanished.

The Congress should adopt a bold policy as the country awaited to bold and prompt lead, and I warn the official Congress to consider the view point of prominent groups in the country, including the Left wing in the Congress, in arriving at a settlement with the Government.

THE SOLE OBJECT CONSISTS IN WINNING INDEPENDENCE

Statement issued to the Press before leaving for Calcutta, 3 January 1932

At a time when the Congress Working Committee was prepared for further negotiation, Lord Willingdon has come to our rescue by cutting "the Gordian Knot". We shall soon come to grips now and the real issue will have to be fought once again. At the time the Gandhi-Irwin Pact was concluded we felt that the time for cessation of hostilities had not arrived and that the fight would have to be continued. But our voices were then drowned. To-day we stand vindicated.

As far as Bengal is concerned, we have not exactly what we wanted. It was only by resumption of the Satyagraha campaign without further delay that there lay the only hope of retrieving the situation in Bengal. It is also gratifying to note that the boycott of British goods and British concerns has once again been adopted as an All-India weapon.

In this connection, I would like to say that there is still a danger ahead of us. After the fight goes on for sometime, there might be another proposal for a pact like the last Delhi Pact. If that is to be prevented, opinion of the rank should be roused and mobilised from to-day and those joining the fight should make it clear that their sole object consists in winning Independence and will not tolerate fresh pacts and negotiations. If this is not done, we shall land ourselves in disaster once again.

MY HEALTH AND OTHER THOUGHTS

Letter to a friend, 16 April 1932

It is a great relief to us to know that father has been steadily improving, we hope the progress will be maintained in spite of the hot weather.

You have asked about my health. Well, it is no use hiding facts. You have heard already that my stomach has been misbehaving. Owing to this, I have had to cut down my diet mercilessly. At first I stuck to milk and sago for several days. When I became tired of that I took Horlicks and I am now trying soup also. Owing to this restricted diet I have not had acute pain for some days but every day between meals I get a burning sensation, which is always an indication to me that the border line should not be crossed. In other words, if I took anything like normal adult food while there is this burning sensation, then all at once that is acute pain and burning sensation, causing severe discomfort and restlessness.

Recently I have had another friend in sciatica. For the first fortnight it kept me confined to bed. By repeated massage some improvement was effected, but the lower part from the thigh to the knee is still very sore and there has been no improvement during the last fortnight. I have tried injection and a continuing massage, but to no avail. If you know any household remedy for sciatica you may let me know.

Mejdada (Sj. Sarat Bose) is keeping well on the whole, except for the increase in sugar during the last month. I only hope it will not develop into regular diabetis while he is here.

I am sorry I have talked so much about myself. This may have given the impression that I am very unhappy. Far from it! Happiness relates to the mind and not to the body. As a matter of fact, I have often found that during physical ailment my brain think more clearly and without any haze. As your ailments increase, the body seems to drop off, as it were. You feel more and more that man is after all a disembodied soul and the body is only a passing raiment. Above all, one's vision of the future becomes clearer and one's conviction grows stronger. You feel one with the Truth—with the Great Idea that inspires your life. Personally I can rise to the loftiest heights of spiritual experience of which I am capable, only after a period of spiritual suffering.

I have always believed in the Divine purpose underlying our human destiny and I am sure my stay at Seoni will not be fruitless—just as my stay at Mandalay was by no means fruitless. I have no doubt that I shall come out a better man, a purer man and a nobler man—one who is ready to give himself up entirely to the service of the Great cause without any thought or sense of self whatsoever. To transcend self is the highest Sadhana and self-immolation is the highest test of our fitness for service. To annihilate self is at once so simple and so difficult to achieve. If I can succeed in this final struggle with myself, I shall win life's battle and then shall I be able to act as a chastened instrument of the Divine purpose. Aurobindo once said, "we must be dynamos of the divine electricity so that when each of us stands up, thousands around may be full of the light!"

I am taking to the study of Aurobindo's works more and more and I find them fascinating. Some friends, including Dilip (Sj. Dilip Kumar Roy) have been good enough to send me his latest books. I was a close student of "Arya" when it used to be published and I was profoundly impressed in those days, but of late I did not have time to study his latest works. I now feel that I must visit Pondicherry once when I am free. I have received a long letter from Dilip quite recently. He was pained when he read my remarks about the Pondicherry School of Thought which I made in December 1928, and he took it to heart. I would be delighted to meet old friends like Dilip and Anil Baran Ray.

Remember me to all friends. I cannot write to all, though I would like to, if I could. How are Satya Babu's (Sj. Satya Ranjan Bakshi) family members keeping?

Hope you are quite well.

Yours affectionately,

ABOUT MY PHYSICAL AND MENTAL HEALTH

Letter to one of his friends in Calcutta, 22 April 1932

Since I wrote to you last it has become hotter all over the country and we too have been experiencing it. There was a slight shower a few days ago which had a temporary cooling effect. We have still the whole of summer to negotiate and it is not a cheerful prospect at all.

Recently the civil surgeon of Chindawara came up to Seoni to examine me. He examined me very carefully. I have not been informed yet about his prescription and I am eagerly awaiting it. Since yesterday we have been allowed to have a walk in the jail garden in the evening for exercise and I am hoping now that it will do us good. Continuous confinement in a small place may not have any visible effect all at once but it undoubtedly has a cramping effect on the body as well as on the mind—and this is revealed gradually as the days roll by.

My physical condition is on the whole unchanged. Sciatica is still adhering to me as obstinately as ever, in spite of two injections. During the last fortnight I had acute pain only once but everyday between meals and at odd hours I experience a burning sensation on the right side. It is not possible to increase my diet as long this sensation is present—because from experience I have come to look upon it as a danger signal. Further increase in diet at this stage will aggravate the discomfort and agony. I have up till now lost 20 Ibs. in weight—but before I can think of recouping this loss I have to try and bring the stomach back to a normal condition (of course if that is at all possible under present conditions of confinement). I wish I could have a thorough examination of the inside—viz. X-Ray examination after bismuth meal, test meal examination etc., in order to find out what exactly the trouble is due to. At present we are more or less groping in the dark. But while I am here, no such examination is possible either in the jail or in the civil hospital. So we have to do the best we can.

Mejdada is doing well on the whole—as far as present circumstances will permit—except for an increase in the sugar.

I am trying to make the best use of my stay and my leisure here. I do not know when I shall be able to return to Bengal—but I have felt during my stay here, as I have never felt before (except once only when I was in Burma) what Tagore wrote in his exquisite style:

"Sonar Bangla ami tomay bhalobasi
Chirodin tomar akash tomar batash
Amar prane bajay banshi".

And I long at times for the scenery which one can see only in Bengal—the ocean like rivers and the smiling fields of wavy corn. And I can not help repeating in the poet's words:

"Ore Aghrane tor bhara khete
Ki dekechi modhur hansi".

Before my arrest this time I had toured in the interior of Maharashtra and I enjoyed heartily the wild and rugged scenery of the hills of Maharashtra. But much as I liked it I felt simultaneously that the picture was not complete without the poetic scenery of Bengal—the vast rivers and the neverending fields of Agrahayan paddy.

Where an experience is denied to the senses—the mind has to conjure it up for self-enjoyment. That is my excuse for the digression.

Yours affectionately,
Subhas C. Bose

ABOUT HEALTH AND TREATMENT

Letter to Kaviraj Anath Nath Roy of Calcutta, 4 June 1932

It was really very good of you to offer to come all the way to Seoni and undertake my treatment. Several other doctors, homeopaths and kavirajas have written to me offering to treat me. While I am thankful to all of them for their kind solicitude, it is not possible for me to avail myself of the offers made, on account of the lack of facilities in my present condition which a physician would naturally like to have for undertaking treatment of a patient like me.

I agree with you in your diagnosis that my disease is not functional but organic. In a layman's opinion, it is either due to ulceration in some parts of the stomach or to some trouble with the gall-bladder. But no definite conclusion can be arrived at without an X-Ray examination. In the meantime all that I can do is regulate my diet and take such palliatives as may help the stomach. But inspite of diet control I get a dull burning sensation in the stomach. I can not possibly get green cocoanuts or sugarcane here, as you have suggested. And the sort of diet that is necessary can be prepared only at home.

I am sorry I have made all of you feel anxious about me but what can I do? When I came here, I was so hale and hearty that I thought this time at least I would have no ailments. Last time, I could recoup my health because the stomach was in satisfactory condition. The only redeeming feature in the present condition of my health is that my lungs are O.K. and so far there is no sign of mental depression or gloominess.

X-RAY EXAMINATION FOR CORRECT DIAGNOSIS

Letter to a friend in Calcutta from Jubbulpore, 10 June 1932

This morning X-Ray examination commenced and it will go on at intervals till to-morrow morning as several plates will have to be taken after the "bismuth meal" I took this morning. The examination will probably go on till Monday. I do hope that after all they will go to the root of the disease and arrive at a correct diagnosis.

I am still having a slight rise in temperature off and on. This morning's weighment at the Hospital recorded 141 lbs., the weight on admission being 182 lbs., i.e., a total loss of 41 lbs. The sciatic pain is still there and I have had another additional friend in piles. Mejdada is being examined thoroughly for diabetis. We hope to know the result of the examination sometime next week. Our further movements are quite unknown to us. We are being examined at the British Station Hospital and there is a Medical Board of three medical men.

PHYSICAL CONDITION CONTINUED UNCHANGED

Letter to a friend in Calcutta from Madras Penitentiary, 31 July 1932

Before I arrived here I had been told that the Penitentiary was probably the Borstal Institution but that information has proved to be incorrect. It is like our Alipore Central Jail. The Jail Superintendent of Jubbulpore to whom the order for my transfer came gave me to understand that I would move into a hospital on my arrival at Madras. But on my arrival here I find the Superintendent of the Penitentiary has no orders about my removal to any hospital. This has made my dieting arrangements very difficult of solution.

Before leaving Jubbulpore, I wrote to Government again pressing for permission to be examined by my own doctor Sir Nilratan Sarkar, Dr. B. C. Roy and my brother Dr. Sunil Bose. I am going to repeat that here, so that the Government may not think that with my transfer to Madras, the question has been automatically dropped.

Since my arrival here, I have still been running a temperature. My physical condition continues unchanged. Madras is quite hot now. I am told that the rains will not come till October.

LUNGS TROUBLE DETECTED

Letter to a friend in Calcutta from Madras Penitentiary, 18 August 1932

I have written to the Madras Government, C. P. Government, and Government of India urging my admission into hospital and pointing out that my transfer to Madras is meaningless if this is not done. After all, an elaborate examination becomes quite valueless and purposeless if it is not followed up by a scientific course of treatment in hospital. I am laying so much stress on hospital because Govt. from their present attitude, do not appear to be in a mood in which they can permit me to be treated at home by my own doctors. And I am the last person in this world to ask for any favour from this Government and I ask only for what I consider honestly to be my right as a citizen in the first place, and then as a State-prisoner.

I have also been pressing for examination at the hands of my own physicians and have written to the Madras Govt. and the Govt. of India about this matter. I also wrote to the C. P. Govt. about this when I was at Jubbulpore.

The examination is practically over now. The X-Ray examination took a lot of time. I have so far been examined by Lt. Col. Skinner and Dr. Guruswami Mudaliar, the senior physician of the Govt. hospital here. So far the blood sugar test has not been considered necessary, but the Von Pirquet's test was taken. From what I have been able to gather from the doctors, they do not find any serious trouble with the gall-bladder. But the condition of the lungs is not normal or clear (I do not remember the medical terminology). It was because of this that the Von Pirquets' test for tuberculosis was considered necessary. The reaction to the test inclines to the positive.

The net result of all this examination is that the outlook appears to be worse than I thought. Both at Seoni and at Jubbulpore, the theory was that the gall-bladder was the source of the trouble. But the source of the trouble appears to be shifted now to the lungs. As a layman, I do not understand how the theory of lung-trouble can explain all the symptoms. Symptoms like stomach pain, sciatica, piles etc., can only be explained by some other theory like the gall-bladder theory. However, what I have gained so far by the examination at Madras is that an important source of mischief which was overlooked both at Seoni and at Jubbulpore has been detected here.

There has not been any improvement in my physical condition. The daily temperature is persisting and all the old friends are constant viz., internal pain, sciatica, loss of weight, lack of appetite, indigestion, insomnia etc. Madras is still quite warm.

I am anxious also for news about Mejdada. You must have seen in the papers about the talk in the Madras Council yesterday about my treatment. The Law Member, Sir Krishnan Nair, gave a sympathetic reply (though there was one inaccuracy in his statement) and said that they were corresponding with the Government of India about my treatment in hospital.

I had written to the Law Member (who is also in charge of jails) giving him all the facts of my case—how the Medical Board at Jubbulpore recommended my treatment in hospital, how Dr. Sunil Bose was refused permission to examine me on the ground that Government were making arrangements for my examination and treatment in hospital, how the transfer order said that I was to go to the Madras Penitentiary for examination and treatment in hospital etc. I had in the meantime stopped going to hospital as a protest but the Inspector General of Prison, who visited this jail, gave me a verbal assurance that after the examination was over, the question of admission into hospital would be formally considered and thereupon I resumed my visits to the hospital for examination.

Hope all well there.

PRAYING FOR RECOVERY OF DR. ALAM

Letter to Begum Alam, 2 November 1932

Dear Mrs. Alam,

I received a letter from Dr. Alam when I was at Madras and I replied to it promptly. I hope that the letter reached him in due course. Since my arrival here I have been pained beyond measure to hear of his recent attack. It is not possible for me to describe my feelings of anxiety. But it seems we are quite helpless now and all that I can do is to pray for his recovery day and night. I believe there is a thing as will-power and thoughts and prayers of his numerous friends and countrymen may yet succeed in bringing him round. That is my sincere and ardent hope.

I have been thinking of the happy day we spent at Lahore under your roof.

I shall not write about myself until I get better news of the Doctor Saheb.

With the sincerest regards and best wishes for the Doctor Saheb and yourself.

Yours sincerely,
Subhas C. Bose

SICK OF EXPERIMENTAL TREATMENT

Letter to Mr. S. Satyamurti, 19 November 1932

I was so happy to receive your letter of the 31st October. I have been following your movements and your health through the papers and I was glad to learn from the papers the other day that you had ultimately been discharged from the hospital. Your decision to go out for a change is a proper one, but I do hope that your recovery will be more speedy than your doctors anticipate. How do you propose to spend the period of enforced rest ?

The news about the improvement in my health was somewhat premature. What has actually happened so far is that after the change of climate and environment I have been feeling more happy and cheerful. The temperature is somewhat less than what is used to be at Madras, but the evening rise is nevertheless persisting. It now varies between 99.2 and 99.4. My bowel troubles are unfortunately still causing me great discomfort and both digestion and appetite are still poor. My weight, too, has not had a good record so far. After four weeks my weight is the same as on admission.

I had hoped to be set at liberty during the period of my stay here, but that has not happened. I am still under restraint and under the usual restrictions contemplated by Regulation III of 1818. The Sanatorium will be closed on the 15th December, and will not reopen till March 1933. A friend wrote to say that I might be sent to Dehradun, but I have had no official information so far.

Another difficulty has cropped up here. At Madras as you know, all the doctors was afraid that I was suffering from tubercular affection of both the lungs. In addition to this, Lt. Col. Skinner reported that there were tubercular glands in the intestines. Later on, the Medical Board also suspected some mischief in the lungs. They suspect something in the abdomen, but they are not able so far to make up their mind about the nature of the mischief.

But the treatment I have been placed under is the usual treatment for tuberculosis. I was put in bed as soon as I arrived here, and the "rest in bed" treatment is still being continued. I am being given a colloidal calcium injection and several medicines are being administered which, I am told, are usual in a case of intestinal tuberculosis. But I have not been feeling happy about the present position.

I want to know definitely what the disease is and I am sick of experimental treatment. Even if doctors are unable to diagnose definitely, I would like to be told frankly to that effect. I have, therefore, written to Government asking for permission to be examined by my doctors once again.

This Sanatorium is meant for lung cases and if my lungs are really free from mischief there is no reason why I should be here. And if, mine is a case of intestinal tuberculosis, then what is to be done ? I do not know of any

Sanatorium in India where there is adequate arrangement for treatment of intestinal tuberculosis. However, let us wait and see.

Please write to me from time to time. I shall of course respond as far as it is possible under the present circumstances.

Praying for your speedy recovery and with kindest regards.

Yours affectionately,
Subhas C. Bose

TIRED OF BEING EXPERIMENTED UPON

Letter to a friend in Madras from Bhowali Sanatorium in U. P., 19 November 1932

I am exceedingly thankful to the Madras doctors for the pains they took over my examination and diagnosis though the result was alarming to me and to everybody else. But in the case of many disease a prompt and correct diagnosis is equal to half the cure.

Bhowali is a nice place on the whole and this is the best season of the year. The change of environment from a walled prison to a sanatorium on the hills was a source of mental relief to me. Personally I am very fond of the hills. There is a silent grandeur and dignity about them which lifts your mind above the affairs of the earth and makes you feel that you are essentially a spiritual being. And throughout the ages so much of our poetry, philosophy and romance has been bound up with the hills, and particularly with the Himalayas.

Unfortunately the body being a lump of clay, as they say, does not respond to the change of environment as promptly as the mind. And so far as physical improvement is concerned, I have been somewhat disappointed. The temperature is unfortunately persisting and for some time past it has been varying between 99.2 and 99.4. The bowel troubles are causing great discomfort and they are aggravated after meals as before. Digestion and appetite are still poor. The weighment record is also not satisfactory. After four weeks the weight is the same as on admission.

I had expected that I would cease to be a State prisoner on my admission here. But unfortunately the usual restrictions are still being continued. The Sanatorium will be closed on the 15th December and I shall be a football once again.

There is another matter which is causing some anxiety. You know that at Madras all the doctors who examined me were unanimous that I am suffering from tubercular affection of both the lungs. In addition to this Lt. Col. Skinner reported that there were tuberculous glands in the intestines. The Medical Board later on were of opinion that there was some seat of mischief in the abdomen as well. But they were not altogether definite about the nature of the mischief and they surmised that it might possibly be due to appendicitis. However, the doctors here say—I understand—that they cannot find any active mischief in the lungs. Regarding the mischief in the abdomen they are unable so far to make up their mind. But the treatment I am getting now is the usual treatment for tuberculosis. I was ordered "rest in bed" the moment I came here on the 11th October last and I am still a bed patient. The discipline for bed patients particularly—and for all patients in general—is very strict here and this is just as it should be. I am also being given Colloidal Calcium injections. I am taking a number of other medicines, which I understand are usually given to cases of intestinal tuberculosis.

Owing to the difficulty in diagnosis I wrote to Government again the other day asking for permission to be examined by my doctors—Sir Nilratan Sirkar, Dr. B. C. Roy, and Dr. Sunil Bose. I do not like the idea of being treated without a definite diagnosis and I am simply tired of being experimented upon. I want to know definitely what the diagnosis is and in case doctors are unable to diagnose they should say so frankly. Let us see what reply comes from Government. A friend of mine has written to say that I may be sent to DehraDun from here when the Sanatorium is closed but I have no official information so far.

If my lungs are really free from tubercular trouble there is no reason why I should be here at all. This Sanatorium is meant for lung cases and I do not know of any Sanatorium in India where there are adequate arrangements for the treatment and cure of intestinal tuberculosis. If it is ultimately declared by the doctors that I am suffering from intestinal tuberculosis (with or without lung trouble) then the position will become more serious. However, I am not prepared as matters stand at present to accept the opinion of the doctors here until it is confirmed by doctors in whom I have complete faith.

TREATMENT CONTINUES, NO IMPROVEMENT

Letter to Bimalkanti Ghosh, 22 November 1932

My dear Bimal Babu,

I was very glad to receive your affectionate letter of the 8th inst. I was particularly gratified to learn that I was able to convey some solace to the members of the bereaved family. Your letter also helped to bring back to me the memories of the days that are no more. You know that Moti Babu, of revered memory, always used to tell us that the Patrika was a national institution. When he departed, he handed over the responsibility to your late lamented father. The latter I am sure, could derive considerable satisfaction and comfort towards the end of his life, from the thought that he had fulfilled the trust reposed in him in a manner beyond the highest expectations of his elder brother. After all, we do not live merely to subsist—but to perform a duty and fulfill a mission. And when that has been accomplished, life's purpose has been fulfilled. So, I have no doubt in my own mind that your late lamented father died a happy man.

I have not much to add to what I have already written about my health. The temperature is still persisting and it usually rises to 99.4 and sometimes even higher. The abdominal pain after meals is also proving obstinate. There has not been any improvement in weight whatsoever—and they say that weight is an important factor in tuberculosis. As I wrote last time, the doctors here are of opinion that the mischief is more in the abdomen than in the lungs. The superintendent is now definitely of opinion that mine is a case of intestinal tuberculosis. However, he has been treating me for both lung and intestinal tuberculosis. Colloidal calcium and Sodium Morrhuate injections are being given alternately. By way of medicine, I am taking codliver oil with tomato juice, Angiers Emulsion and some other drugs to aid digestion and relieve abdominal pain. Inspite of all this, my digestion and appetite are still very poor. A doctor friend suggested the application of oxygen in the abdomen after operation. But though this is a recognised method of treatment of tuberculosis (corresponding to the artificial pneumo-thorax treatment for lung tuberculosis)—they have not tried this treatment here, as this sanatorium is meant for cases of lung tuberculosis. Besides, I would not like to submit to this treatment except at the hands of those who are thoroughly practised in it. The real difficulty is that there is no sanatorium in India for the treatment of intestinal tuberculosis.

As at present arranged, I shall be here till the 15th December. A friend wrote to me to say that there after they may send me to Dehra Dun. But I have no information from official sources.

The surroundings here are very pleasant and inspite of my physical ailments, I am happy and cheerful.

With love and kindest remembrances to all,

I am,

TILL A BED PATIENT

Letter to Sj. Satyendra Nath Majumder, Editor, Ananda Bazar Patrika, from Bhowali, 24 November 1932

As you know by now, I arrived here about the middle of last month. The change from a walled prison to a Sanatorium was welcome indeed, inspite of the restrictions that have been imposed on me here. The sight of the mountains is soothing to the mind and helps to rouse all the holy associations which tradition connects with the Himalayas. Really, there is a sublime grandeur in the mountains which lifts your mind heavenward, makes you forget what is petty and sordid and enables you to breathe a higher and nobler existence. I am told that if you could climb another 500 feet from here, you could get a gorgeous view of the everlasting snows. How I wish I could climb up and have a glimpse of that silvery grandeur.

As soon as I arrived here, I was put in bed. This is the usual prescription for all tuberculosis patients and they are generally not allowed to leave their bed as long as the temperature persists. There is a system of graduated exercise beginning with absolute rest in bed and ending with long walks up to 5 or 6 miles at a stretch. As a matter of fact some of the walking patients look so healthy that you would never imagine that they were tuberculosis patients. Nevertheless they are far from healthy and if they are careless, they are liable to have a relapse any time.

The medical discipline here is very strict as it should be. The routine for the day is chalked out in a clearcut manner and you have to adhere to it. The day begins with a bugle call at 6 a.m. and ends with a bugle call at 9-30 p.m. when you must retire. As the condition of the patient improves, he is allowed recreation and exercise in a steadily increasing degree. If unfortunately there is a setback the patient may be ordered back to bed again. The Sanatorium is like a colony with cottages scattered all over the hillside. Twice a year they have sports here in which not only the walking patients participate but also the staff, the relations of patients and the servants. There is an

X-Ray plant and an upto-date laboratory attached to the Sanatorium.

Up till now I am a bed-patient and from the physical point of view I am as good as a prisoner in jail. Nevertheless, the pleasant surroundings do make one feel happy and cheerful. As the Sanatorium will close about the 15th December, it does not look as if I shall become a walking patient while I am here.

Letter to Bivabati Bose

Censored and Passed
Sd. Illegible
1/11/32

C/o. The Superintendent
King Edward Sanatorium
Bhowali, U.P.
26/10/32

My dear Mejobowdidi,

I was happy beyond measure to receive your letter. Please accept my respectful Bijoya pronams, convey my pronams to the elders and love to the young ones.

I have been cheerful since my arrival here and am also feeling physically better. However, it will take me a long time to recover fully. Digestive troubles and the fever are still continuing. They have still kept me confined to bed; may be I shall be allowed to walk about after a week. The doctors and the "matron" are taking very good care of me and the climate of this place is very good at present. The doctors here had hoped that I would recover soon after my arrival here; but they are feeling rather disappointed and sorry at the turn of events. Most probably they will change their diagnosis. They will probably localise their diagnosis of the ailment in the abdomen instead of in the chest. I shall be able to let you know something positive later. In any case, it is unnecessary to mention all these things to parents. The sanatorium will close on 15th December—I do not know where I will be sent thereafter.

I feel extremely worried that Mejdada has to be completely alone. Please see that somebody or other interviews him every month.

I hope you are all keeping well.

Yours v. affly,
Subhas

P.S. You have not given me your address at Benares. Asoke has also written but has not given the address. I am sending a letter for Asoke—please enclose it when you write to him. It is getting quite cold here.

If you find some of my warm clothings in the almirah on your return to Calcutta, please send them along to me. You may send the overcoat (if it is there), gloves, woollen socks etc., whatever is found. Besides, on your return to Calcutta please send me Rs. 50/- for out of pocket expenses.

Subhas

(Translated from the original Bengali—Ed.)

PARTING MESSAGE TO BENGALEES

From S.S. "Gange", Sj. Subhas Chandra Bose sent the following message :

"For over a year I have been exiled from my own province. During this period owing to unhealthy conditions of confinement my health completely broke down. As my condition worsened, I was shifted from one province to another—but I was deliberately kept away from the hospitals and the physicians who were so anxious to take charge of my treatment. Even the prisons of Bengal, so hospitable to thousands of my countrymen—shut their doors on me.

"To my physical suffering was added mental torture. During my incarceration outside Bengal, I watched with a sense of increasing pain and helplessness the repression that was prevailing in the province. All that I could do in the circumstances was to silently pray in the seclusion of my cell that the Divine Mother may grant strength to our people and that a new Bengal may be born.

"Torn away from the realities of life, through those long and dark hours I sought refuge in contemplation. The vision of India conjured up and worshipped by our great seers from Bankim and Vivekananda to Dwijendralal and Deshbandhu—rose before my mind's eye to give me solace, strength and inspiration. I felt—as I had never felt before that the vision of "Bharatmata" as she was destined to be—was the supreme Reality which transcended the shortcomings and imperfections of the present hour. That vision was a treasure of which no earthly power could deprive me—it was a shrine at which I worshipped from day to day.

"One of the dreams that have inspired me and given a purpose to my life is that of a great and undivided Bengal devoted to the service of India and of humanity—a Bengal that is above all sects and groups and is the home alike of the Moslem, the Hindu, the Christian and the Buddhist. It is this Bengal—the Bengal of my dreams—the Bengal of the future still in embryo—that I worship and strive to serve in my daily life.

"To interpret this dream and endeavour to translate in into reality—is one of the passions of my life. It is a task to which we must give our very best if success is to be ours. No sacrifice is too dear—no suffering too great—if we are to fulfil this mission. Friends, will you not rise to that noble height where the vision of a great and undivided Bengal will be the only reality before? Remember the legacy bequeathed by our great men. Forget not that you are the heirs of their dreams—the hopes of the country's future. If you are great yourselves in thought and deed—then alone will you be able to make your country great. Therefore I say with all the sincerity that I can command, "Forget your petty quarrels, sink your personal differences—strive to make Bengal united and great—so that in her greatness may be our highest happiness and glory. After all, who dies if Bengal lives; who lives if Bengal dies?"

SUBHAS CHANDRA BOSE

S.S. "Gange",
2.3.33.

INDEX

A.B.S.A. (See All Bengal Students' Association)
Advance—226
Afghanistan—24
Ahmed, Sir Syed—111
A.I.C.C. (See All India Congress Committee)
Alam, Dr.—43, 76, 77, 79, 254
Alam, Begum—254
Albert Hall—198, 232
Ali, Shaukat—141
Alipore Central Jail—120, 143, 251
Allahabad—9, 60, 87, 88
All Bengal Students' Association (A.B.S.A.)—76-79
All India Congress Committee (A.I.C.C.)—9, 60, 88-90, 102, 105-109, 142, 208
All India Labour Conference—12
All India Naujawan Bharat Sabha 147, 148, 179.
All India Political Sufferers' Day—18, 19
All India Trade Union Congress—68, 118, 190, 200
All India Volunteers' Conference—55
All India Youth Congress—57
All Parties' Conference—191
Amanullah, King—24
Ambika Memorial Hall—168
America—167, 204
Amraoti—69
Amrita Bazar Patrika—38, 208
Aney, M.S.—188, 205, 206, 209, 240
Ansari, Dr.—107
Aristotle—20
Asia ; Asiatic—48, 49
Associated Press of India—115, 116, 226
Aurobindo (see Ghosh, Sri Aurobindo)
Avari, Mr.—146

Babylon—50
Bagalkot—55
Bahadur, Kharag—22
Bajaj, Jamunalal—104, 106, 107
Baker, Mr.—221
Bakshi, Satya Ranjan—247
Bandabilla—91, 109, 112, 115-118
Bandemataram—11, 13, 34, 53, 68, 87, 125, 186
Bandopadhyay, Nikhil Nath—125
Banerjee, Charu—216
Banerjee, J.L.—14-17
Banerjee, Krishnapada—216
Barabazar Congress Committee—212
Baradidi—120
Barisal—27, 28, 34, 40
Barisal Dacoity Case—146
Barackpur—224
Basumati—37, 38
Behrampur—218, 240
Bemrose, Mr.—224
Bengal—1, 11, 13, 23, 29, 31-35, 38-40, 42-45, 56, 58, 74, 77, 78, 88, 89, 102, 109, 117, 119, 125, 136, 137, 143, 145-147, 160, 162, 163, 165, 172, 175, 187, 189, 200, 202, 205, 207, 211, 212, 214, 215, 217-219, 226-228, 231, 239, 240, 245, 249
Bengal Bus Syndicate—133
Bengal Congress—87, 117, 118, 237
Bengal Congress Flood and Famine Relief Committee—209, 210
Bengal dispute—188
Bengal Jute Workers' Conference—223
Bengal Legislative Council—8, 14, 15
Bengal Ordinance—146, 207
Bengal Provincial Conference—237
Bengal Provincial Congress Committee (B.P.C.C.)—14, 17, 26, 34, 36, 37, 39, 40, 73, 77, 78, 88, 90, 91, 102, 118, 135, 141, 162-166, 171, 187-188, 199 205, 206, 208, 211, 213, 214, 231, 240
Bengal Relief Committee—209, 210
Bengal Tenancy Bill—14, 15
Bengal Volunteers—119
Bengal Volunteer Corps—58
Bengalee—11, 19, 33, 217, 218, 239
Bengali Literature—44
Berar Students' Conference—80
Bergson—83
Berhampore Jail—124, 202
Betul—146
Bhattacharya, Abinash—232
Bhowali Sanatorium—256
Bhowanipore Rioting Case—146
Birbhum—14, 16, 17
Biswas, Ramkrishna—147, 156
Bolshevik, 152, 182
Bolshevism—152, 181, 182, 184
Bombay—3, 145, 146, 197, 206, 208, 240
Bose, Bejoy Krishna—38
Bose, Bivabati (Mejabowdidi) 121
Bose, Jagadish Chandra—111

Bose, Sarat Chandra (Mejadada)—246, 248, 250, 253
Bose, Dr. Sunil—251, 253
B.P.C.C. (see Bengal Provincial Congress Committee)
Brahmo Samaj—20
Britain—99, 112, 143, 157
British, Britisher—2, 32, 96, 112, 124, 133, 139, 143, 157, 158
British Cabinet—157
British Empire—153, 183
British Government—31, 96, 98, 99, 156, 193, 242
British Imperialism—70, 153, 183
British India—41
British Parliament—99
British rule—201
Burma—45, 249
Burmah Oil Co.—3, 17, 18, 25
Burman, Madan Mohan—147

Calcutta—16, 17, 43, 44, 57, 60, 76, 79, 100, 108, 110, 116, 119, 120, 125, 128, 129, 133, 139, 141, 142, 144, 145, 163, 170, 190, 196-199, 211, 212, 224, 225, 231, 232, 239, 245, 248, 249, 251, 252
Calcutta Congress—23, 97, 100, 143, 198
Calcutta Corporation—95, 98, 116, 126-131, 134, 140, 146, 147, 167, 168, 212, 215
Calcutta Engineering College—112
Calcutta Municipal Gazette—168
Calcutta Resolution—60
Ceylon—49
Chakraborty, Jogindra Chandra—38
Chakraborty, Narendra Narayan—232, 235
Chandidas—1, 204
Chandpur—232, 236
Chatterjee, Amarendranath—222
Chatteriee, Barendranath—222
Chatterjee, S. C.—167
Chattopadhyay, Mrityumjoy—120, 121
China—20, 24, 53, 122
Chindawara—248
Chinsurah—10
Chirnor—146
Chittagong—38, 219, 227, 228, 231, 232, 237-239
Chittagong Armoury Raid Case—146, 160
Chowdhury, Brojendra Narayan—166
Chowdhury, Harendra—166
Christ—25
Christian—20
Civil Disobedience—146, 160, 172, 190, 213
Civil Rights Committee—228
Comity of Nations—168
Communism—153, 182
Congress—15, 95, 97-102, 108, 110, 111, 137, 138, 142, 145, 148, 149, 155, 158-162, 165, 172, 173, 177-179, 199, 203, 211, 213, 240, 241, 243, 244
Congress Municipal Association—214
Congress Municipal Party—164, 211
Congress Policy—154
Congress Working Committee—36, 245
C.P. Government—252
C.P. Youth Conference—61
Cromwell—24

Dacca—187, 232, 235, 236
Dacca Cyclone Fund—209
Dacca Enquiry Committee—232
Dacca Wire Cutting Case—146
Dakshineswar Bomb Case—125
Dalal, A.R.—288, 229
Das, Deshbandhu Chittaranjan—2, 12, 15, 39, 45, 74, 93, 126-128, 132, 172, 175, 211
Das, Jatindranath—30, 35, 36, 43, 53, 56-58, 155, 156, 174
Das, Purna Chandra—170
Das Gupta, Birendranath—73, 79
Das Gupta, Hemendranath—232, 235
Das Gupta, Satish Chandra—210
Daulatram, Jairamdas—103
Dehradun—255
Delhi—60, 145, 231
Delhi Jail—125
Delhi Manifesto—95, 98
Delhi Pact—245
Delhi Truce—244
Deshbandhu (see Das, Deshbandhu Chittaranjan)
Deshpande, Mr.—198-200
Devi, Urmila—125
Dewan Chamanlal—72
Dev, Dr. B.N.—130
District Congress Committee—17, 162, 163, 165, 166, 170, 187, 211
District Political Conference—91
District Students' Conference—170
Dominion Status—59, 108
Dutta, Akhil Chandra—38
Dutta Batukeswar—44
Dutta, Bhupen—198, 199
Dutta, Govinda—216

Ellison, Mr.—232-235
England—47, 143, 240
Englishmen—218
Europe—48, 128
European Chambers of Commerce—96, 99

Faridpur—167, 168, 172
Fascism—128
Flood Relief Committee—214
France—204
Free Press—26, 37, 205, 232

Gaibandha—175
Gaibandha Congress Committee—176
Gandhi-Irwin Pact—146, 149, 159, 207, 245
Gandhi, Mahatma—9, 12, 60, 94-98, 100, 103, 104, 106, 108, 111, 122, 126, 138, 141, 145, 156, 160, 163, 172, 174, 179, 192, 199, 205, 206, 208, 209, 240, 242-244
Garhwalis—160
Garibaldi—24
Gauhati—107
Geneva—71, 191
German—20
Germany—112
Ghosh, Sri Aurobindo—11, 202, 247
Ghosh, Moni—228
Ghosh, Motilal—74
Ghosh, Sashindra—216
Ghosh, Surendra Mohan—79
Ginwala, Mr. P.—198, 229
Girni Kamgar—70, 71, 197, 198
Gladding, Mr.—233
Goalundo—233
Golmuri—17
Goswami, T.C.—223
Government—33-36, 40, 41, 54, 74, 92, 94, 112, 113, 117, 118, 120, 121, 129, 138, 147, 149, 155-161, 237, 238, 244, 252
Government of India—18, 157, 243, 252
Government of India Act 1919—59
Govindanand—106
Greek Diogenes—184
Gupta, J.C.—232
Gupta, Jogesh—89

Harish Park—238
Harkishinlal—156
Hazra, Asutosh—216
Hijli—219, 223, 227, 228, 231, 232, 237-239
Hijli Camp—216, 221, 222
Hindustani Seva Dal—55
Homi, Manick—4-7, 220
Hooghly District Political Conference—29, 75
Hooghly District Students' Conference—10
House of Lords—58
Hutchings, Mr.—222
India—2, 11, 13, 20, 23, 24, 26, 29, 31, 32, 35, 46, 51-54, 65, 66, 68, 81, 83, 86, 99, 133, 138, 143, 149, 152-158, 161, 162, 172-174, 176, 178, 179, 181, 182, 185, 191, 193, 195, 196, 201-204, 218, 237, 243, 256
Indian Civil Service—157
Indian National Congress—(see Cong.)
Indian Socialism—152
Indian Trade Union Movement—191
Irish—144
Irishmen—157
Italy—168, 173, 175
Ivengar, Srinivasa—60, 103, 106, 108

Jagatdal—223, 224, 233
Jalianwalabagh—238
Jamshedpur—3, 4, 6, 17, 25, 220, 228
Jani, Mr.—146
Japan—20, 24, 49, 111
Japanese—136
Jatindranath Das Memorial Committee-36
Jessore—8, 109, 115-117, 187, 202
Jessore Congress Committee—91
Jharia—196
Jharia Congress—71
Joshi, Mr.—197
Jubbulpore—250, 251, 253
Jute Workers' Conference—226

Karachi—15, 149, 179, 192
Karachi Conference—147
Karachi Congress—162
Karachi Resolution—242
Karl Marx—2, 3
Kasiram—1
Kemal—24
Khadi Pratisthan—210
Khan, Kumar Debendralal—216
Khan, Maulavi Mahiuddin—176
Kharagpur—221
Kharagpur Railway Hospital—216
Khilafat Movement—140
Khulna—240
King Emperor—46
Krittibas—1
Kusthia—172, 173

Labour Association—220
Labour Commission—194
Labour Conference—226
La Favette—24
Labour Federation—220
Labour Government—58, 59
Labour Movement—26, 53
Lahore—42-44, 54, 55, 90, 97, 105, 110, 111, 155
Lahore Congress—100, 143
Lahore Conspiracy—156

Leaders' Conference—60
Left Wing—69
Left Wingers—69, 70
Legislative Assembly—18, 25
Legislative Council—25
Lenin—152, 182
Liberty—14
Lucknow—90

MacDonald, Ramsey—143
Mackenzie—224
MacSweeny, Alderman—157, 158
Madras—107, 251, 253, 225, 256
Madras Council—253
Madras Government—252
Madras Penitentiary—251-253
Maharastra—249
Maharashtra Youth Conference—241, 244
Malaviya, Pandit Madan Mohan—89, 108
Mandalay—247
Mandalay Jail—124
Mandla District—146
Marx—152,182
Marxian Principles—152, 181
Mayo, Miss—173, 175
Mayor—126, 140, 141, 165, 167
Mayoral Address—126
Mazzini—168, 175
Mechua Bazar Bomb Case—125
Meerut Conspiracy Case—144, 146, 160, 242, 243
Mejadada (see Bose, Sarat Chandra)
Metiaburuz—198
Midnapur—117
Midnapore Youth Conference—92
Mitra, Santosh—89, 216, 232, 238
Mitter, Rai Lalit Kumar—133, 134
Mondal, Shantiram—147
Montagu—Chelmsford Reform-59
Moore, Thomas—20
Morley-Minto Reform—31, 202
Moscow—191, 196-198, 200
Mother India—33, 168
Muhammad Ali, Maulana—140, 141
Mukherjee, Bankim—198, 199
Mukundaram—1
Munshiganj—235, 236
Munshiganj Post Office Looting Case—146
Mussolini—24
Muttra—176
Mymensingh—76, 77, 79, 170-172
Mymensingh Case—146
Mymensingh Conference—78

Nagpur—69, 111, 146, 190, 197, 199, 239
Nair, Krishna—253
Napoleon—24
Narail—200
Narayanganj—232-235
Nariman—240
National Congress—200
Naujawan Bharat Sabha—178
Naujawan Bharat Sabha Movement—176, 180, 185
Nawapara Police Station (Thana)—223, 225
Nehru, Jawaharlal—9, 60, 61, 69, 70, 76, 103-105, 108
Nehru, Motilal—9, 18, 61, 87, 88, 100, 102, 104, 106, 111, 163, 205, 213
Netrokona—170, 171, 173
New Delhi—162
Neogy, Jnnanjan—125
Nietzsche—20, 184
Noakhali Youth Conference—174
Non-Cooperation Movement—202
North Calcutta Congress Committee—211, 212
Nripen Babu—122, 123, 216

Pabna—135, 137
Pabna Hosiery—136
Pain, Baroda—120
Pan-Asiatic Federation—141
Pan-Asiatic Labour Conference—71
Pan-Pacific Secretariat—197
Pan-Pacific Trade Union Secretariat—70, 71
Parmoor, Lord—58, 59
Patel, Sardar Vallabbhai—231
Paturakhali Satyagraha Movement—27
Patuakhali Settlement—41
Peasant Movement—53
Petric, Flinders, Sir—50
Phoenicia—50
Plato—20
Political Sufferers' Conference—170
Pondicherry—247
Poona—240
Prakasam—103, 106
Prasad, Rajendra—240
Prentice, Mr.—222
Provincial Congress Committee (see also Bengal Provincial Congress Committee)—9, 15, 17, 19, 39, 215
Provincial Students' Conference—171
Punjab—42-44, 54, 58, 146, 160, 239
Punjabi Students' Conference—42

Rai, Dr. Narain—146
Rajah, Mr.—146
Rajguru—156
Rajshahi District Students' Conference—19
Rajshahi Mail Robbery Case—146
Rajshahi Students' Conference—23
Rakshit, Bhupendra—122, 123
Ramakrishna Paramhansa—2, 12, 173, 201
Ram Prasad—1
Razzak, Mr.—141
Reading, Lord—59
Revolutionary Conspiracy Case—243
Revolutionary movement—202
Right Wing—72
Right Wingers—69, 70, 71, 72
Round Table Conference—59, 96, 98, 146, 147, 156, 192, 193, 206, 207, 241, 242, 244
Roy, Abinash Chandra—16, 17
Roy, Anil Baran, Kabiraj—249
Roy, B.C. (Dr. Bidhan Chandra)—102, 164, 165, 171, 205, 208, 251
Roy, Bijoy Chandra—91, 115
Roy, Dilip Kumar—247
Roy, Kiran Sankar—37
Roy, Raja Ram Mohan—2, 11, 21, 111, 201
Rai Chowdhury, Sabita—216
Roy Chowdhury, Sushil—216
Russia—24, 112, 122, 152, 173, 181, 184, 204
Russian—3
Russian Red Army—24

Samhamurti—60
Sarkar, Nilratan—251
Satyagraha Campaign—245
Satyamurti, S.—104, 106-108, 254
Scottish Church College—139
Seely—203, 218
Sein Fein—157, 159
Sein Feiners—94, 95, 242
Sen, Hem Chandra—40
Sen, Keshab Chandra—21, 111
Sen, Sailaja—216
Sen, Satindranath—27-29, 34-36, 40-42, 146, 221
Sen, Sudhir—216
Sen, Tarakeswar—216, 231, 238
Sen Gupta, Birendranath—120
Sen Gupta, I.M.—36-39, 87, 103, 164, 170, 187, 189, 211, 212, 214, 216
Seon Mckeon, Commandant—144, 158
Seoni—247, 248, 252, 253
Seva Dal—55
Shivaji Mandir—244
Sholapur—146
Shyamadas Kaviraj—121
Siberia—49
Simon Commission—9, 59, 99
Singh, Baba Gurdit—146
Singh, Bhagat—44, 148, 155, 156, 158, 159
Singh, Prem—120, 124, 126
Singh, Ram Sunder—216
Singh, Sardar Sardul—108
Sitaramaya, Dr. Pattabhi—87, 88, 90, 103
Skinner,, Lt. Col.—252, 255
Social Service League—93
Socialism—128, 152, 181, 184, 192
Socialist Republic—148, 153, 182
Socrates—20, 25
South Africa—96, 99
South African Constitution—99
Statesman—60, 226
Students' Association—75, 76
Students' Conference—77, 80
Students' movement—46-48, 53, 73-75, 77-79
Subjects Committee—102, 103
Sukhdev—156
Surat—111
Swadeshi—31, 48, 110, 135-137
Swadeshi movement—202
Swaraj—3, 8, 12, 31, 44, 97, 140, 157, 203, 239
Swarajist programme—101
Sylhet—165-167, 172

Tagore, Rabindranath—44, 249
Tatas—221
Tata Iron & Steel Co.—3, 4, 8, 220, 228
Tinplate Co.—3, 4, 6, 8, 18, 25
Town Hall—199
Townsend—203, 218
Trade Union Congress—69, 70-72, 191, 192, 196-199
Trade Union Federation—197
Trade Union movement—195-197, 200
Tramways Company—134, 135
Turkey—24, 49

United Bengal—175
United Provinces—146
U.P. Naujawan Bharat Sabha Conference—176
U.P. Provincial Congress Committee—18, 19

Vaishnabism—1
Viceroy of India—95
Vidyapati—1
Vivekananda—2, 10, 12, 111, 173, 201, 204
Von Ludendorff—112

Whitley Commission—70-72, 193, 194, 197
Willingdon, Lord—245
Women's movement—53
Working Committee—90, 103, 105-108, 142, 155, 163, 188, 190, 226, 227, 231
Worth, Mr.—224
Writers' Building—222
Youth Association—95
Youth movement—53, 62-65, 67, 92, 95, 241

Zbysko—204